AN

HISTORICAL

MISCELLANY.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON,

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXII.

Publiſhed by the ſame Editor, Price 3s.

THE

MORAL MISCELLANY;

OR,

A COLLECTION of SELECT PIECES in PROSE and VERSE.

For the Inſtruction and Entertainment of Youth.

The THIRD EDITION, corrected and enlarged.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is no ſtudy which has a greater efficacy in removing prejudices of every kind, or, which conveys more beneficial inſtruction, than that of hiſtory. A ſelection, on this account, of the more valuable paſſages, which are to be found in the moſt diſtinguiſhed hiſtorical compoſitions of ancient and of modern times, muſt neceſſarily be conſidered as a work, which might be employed with ſignal utility, in the education of youth. It is, from a ſtrong perſuaſion of this kind, that the editor of the preſent Miſcellany, has been induced to undertake and to publiſh it.

The articles he has made choice of, he flatters himſelf, are well calculated to inſtill into young minds, juſt and liberal ſentiments; to form, and to improve their taſte and ſenſibility; and to inſpire them with a generous emulation to excel. Nor are theſe the only advantages, which he hopes, they may derive from his publication. Views of the tranſactions and behaviour of men in difficult ſituations; delineations of the characters and peculiarities of the greateſt perſonages, who have appeared in the world; and relations concerning the progreſs of ſociety, and the nature of ſubordination and government, beſide

the knowledge and inſtruction, they muſt unavoidably communicate to the young and the inexperienced, will have the moſt important influence in giving a direction to their manners and conduct. The cenſure and diſapprobation, with which hiſtory mentions the corrupted and the vicious; and the praiſes which it beſtows on the virtuous and the worthy, will inſpire them with the love, and lead them to the practice of virtue; and, while they are inſtructed in the duties incumbent on them as members of a community, they will warm with the public ſpirit, and the affections of citizens. It is not ſufficient that their underſtandings are enlarged; education has ſomething of ſtill greater importance in view, viz. to form them to honour, candor, generoſity and probity, to qualify them for entering upon public life with advantage; in a word, to make them happy in themſelves, and uſeful to ſociety.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

	Page
Of the Great Hiſtorical Ages	1
The Rape of Lucretia, *and the Eſtabliſhment of the Conſular Power in* Rome	5
The Conqueſt of England *by* William *Duke of* Normandy	13
The Condemnation of Cremutius Cordus, *the Hiſtorian, by* Tiberius, *for having praiſed* Brutus *and* Caſſius	19
The Hiſtory of Oliver Cromwell	21
Of the famous Corſairs Horuc Barbaroſſa, *and his Brother* Hayradin	31
The Revolt of Andrew Doria *from the* French	43
Fieſco's *Conſpiracy to overturn the Government of* Genoa	48
The Death of Seneca	58
The Continence of Scipio Africanus	61
The private Life of Æmilius Scipio	64
The Hiſtory of Muſtapha, *Son of* Solyman *the* Magnificent	69
The Cruelty of Nero *in the Treatment of* Thraſea Pætus *and* Bareas Soranus	75
The Reſignation of Charles V. *of his Dominions to his Son* Philip	87

The Death of Virginia, *and the Abolition of the Decemvirate in* Rome 94
The Hiſtory of the Order of Jeſuits 113
Of Columbus, *and the Diſcovery of* America 124
Of the Voyage round the World by Commodore Anſon 135
The Interview between Hannibal *and* Scipio, *and the Battle of* Zama 142

PART II.

A Deſcription of the Plague of Athens 152
The Oration, which was ſpoken by Pericles, *at the Public Funeral of thoſe* Athenians, *who had been firſt killed in the* Peloponneſian *War* 157
The Character of Marius 166
The Character of Sylla 168
The Character of Pompey 170
The Character of Cæſar 173
The Character of Cato 175
A Compariſon of Cæſar *with* Cato 176
The Character of Catiline 177
The Speech of Cæſar *on* Catiline's *Accomplices* 178
The Speech of Cato *on* Catiline's *Accomplices* 183
The Character of Hannibal 187
The Character of Alfred 188

The Character of Mary *Queen of* Scots 190
The Character of William *the Conqueror* 192
The Character of Queen Elizabeth 195
The Character of Martin Luther 198
The Character of Edward III. 202
The Character of Francis I. *with ſome Reflections on his Rivalſhip with* Charles V. 203
The Character of Charles V. 207
The Character of Epaminondas 210
A Compariſon of the Political Principles and Conduct of Cato, Atticus, *and* Cicero 211

PART III.

Of the Origin and natural Revolutions of Civil Government 215
Of the different Forms of Government 224
Of the Government and Civil Policy of the Americans 233
Of the Progreſs of Manners among the Romans 238
A general Deſcription of the Manners of the Americans 244
An Account of the Manners of the Scots-Highlanders 261
A Deſcription of the Welſh 269
Reflections on the Religion and Uſages of the Gentoos 274
Of the Refinement of Manners in Europe from the Overthrow of the Roman *Empire, till the times of* Richard III. *of* England 287

CONTENTS.

An Account of the Frequency of Aſſaſſinations in the middle Ages 295
Of the Natural Deſtruction of mixed Governments 297
Of Tyranny, and that Tyrants muſt neceſſarily make Uſe of Mercenaries 300
The Variations of Laws among the Romans 303
Of public Virtue 305
Of the Conſtitution of England 312
The Influence of the Progreſs of Science on the Manners and Characters of Men 325

AN

HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

PART I.

Of the Great Hiſtorical Ages *.

EVERY age has produced heroes and politicians; all nations have experienced revolutions, and all hiſtories are nearly alike, to thoſe who ſeek only to furniſh their memories with facts; but whoſoever thinks, or what is ſtill more rare, whoſoever has taſte, will find but four ages in the hiſtory of the world. Theſe four happy ages are thoſe in which the arts were carried to perfection; and which, by ſerving as the æra of the greatneſs of the human mind, are examples for poſterity.

The firſt of theſe ages to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander, or that of a Pericles, a Demoſthenes, an Ariſtotle, a Plato, an Appelles, a Phidias, and a Praxiteles; and this honour has been confined within the limits of antient Greece; the reſt of the known world was then in a ſtate of barbariſm.

The ſecond age is that of Cæſar and Auguſtus, diſtinguiſhed likewiſe by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Titus Livius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

* Voltaire's Hiſt. Works, by Smollet and Franklin, vol. vi. p. 159—167.

The third is that which followed the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. Then a family of private citizens was ſeen to do that which the kings of Europe ought to have undertaken. The Medicis invited to Florence the learned, who had been driven out of Greece by the Turks; this was the age of Italy's glory. The polite arts had already recovered a new life in that country; the Italians honoured them with the title of Virtu, as the firſt Greeks had diſtinguiſhed them by the name of Wiſdom. Every thing tended towards perfection; a Michael Angelo, a Raphael, a Titian, a Taſſo, and an Arioſto flouriſhed. The art of engraving was invented; elegant architecture appeared again as admirable, as in the moſt triumphant ages of Rome; and the Gothic barbariſm, which had diſfigured Europe in every kind of production, was driven from Italy to make way for good taſte.

The arts, always tranſplanted from Greece to Italy, found themſelves in a favourable ſoil, where they inſtantly produced fruit. France, England, Germany, and Spain, aimed in their turns to gather theſe fruits; but either they could not live in thoſe climates, or elſe they degenerated very faſt.

Francis I. encouraged learned men, but ſuch as were merely learned men; he had architects, but he had no Michael Angelo nor Paladio; he endeavoured in vain to eſtabliſh ſchools for painting; the Italian maſters, whom he invited to France, raiſed no pupils there. Some epigrams and a few looſe tales, made the whole of our poetry. Rabelais was the only proſe writer in vogue in the time of Henry II.

In a word, the Italians alone were in poſſeſſion of every thing that was beautiful excepting muſic, which was then but in a rude ſtate, and experimental philoſophy, which was every where equally unknown.

Laſtly, the fourth age is that known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. and is perhaps that which approaches the neareſt to perfection of all the four; enriched by the diſcoveries of the three former ones, it has done greater things in certain kinds than thoſe three

three together. All the arts, indeed, were not carried farther than under the Medicis, Auguſtus, and Alexander; but human reaſon in general was more improved. In this age we firſt became acquainted with ſound philoſophy; it may truly be ſaid, that from the laſt years of cardinal Richelieu's adminiſtration, till thoſe which followed the death of Lewis XIV. there has happened ſuch a general revolution in our arts, our genius, our manners, and even in our government, that will ſerve as an immortal mark to the true glory of our country. This happy influence has not been confined to France; it has communicated itſelf to England, where it has ſtirred up an emulation, which that ingenious and deeply learned nation ſtood in need of at that time; it has introduced taſte into Germany, and the ſciences into Ruſſia; it has even reanimated Italy, which was languiſhing; and Europe is indebted for its politeneſs and ſpirit of ſociety to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time the Italians called all the people on this ſide the Alps by the name of Barbarians; it muſt be owned, that the French in ſome degree deſerved this reproachful epithet. Our forefathers joined the romantic gallantry of the Moors with the Gothic rudeneſs. They had hardly any of the agreeable arts amongſt them, which is a proof that the uſeful arts were likewiſe neglected; for when once the things of uſe are carried to perfection, the tranſition is quickly made to the elegant and the agreeable; and it is not at all aſtoniſhing, that painting, ſculpture, poetry, eloquence, and philoſophy, ſhould be in a manner unknown to a nation, who, though poſſeſſed of harbours on the Weſtern Ocean, and the Mediterranean ſea, were without ſhips; and who, though fond of luxury to an exceſs, were hardly provided with the moſt common manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoeſe, the Venetians, the Portugueſe, the Flemiſh, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, carried on, in their turns, the trade of France, which was ignorant even of the firſt principles of commerce. Lewis XIII. at his acceſſion to the crown had not a

ſingle ſhip; the city of Paris contained not quite four hundred thouſand men, and had not above four fine public edifices; the other cities of the kingdom reſembled thoſe pitiful villages which we ſee on the other ſide the Loire. The nobility, who were all ſtationed in the country, in dungeons ſurrounded with deep ditches, oppreſſed the peaſant who cultivated the land. The high roads were almoſt impaſſable; the towns were deſtitute of police, and the government had hardly any credit among foreign nations.

We muſt acknowledge, that ever ſince the decline of the Carlovingian family, France had languiſhed more or leſs in this infirm ſtate merely for want of the benefit of a good adminiſtration.

For a ſtate to be powerful, the people muſt either enjoy a liberty founded on the laws, or the royal authority muſt be fixed beyond all oppoſition. In France the people were ſlaves till the reign of Philip Auguſtus; the noblemen were tyrants till Lewis XI.; and the kings, always employed in maintaining their authority againſt their vaſſals, had neither leiſure to think about the happineſs of their ſubjects, nor the power of making them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal for the regal power, but nothing for the happineſs or glory of the nation. Francis I. gave birth to trade, navigation, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to make them take root in the nation during his time, ſo that they all periſhed with him. Henry the Great was on the point of raiſing France from the calamities and barbariſms in which ſhe had been plunged by thirty years of diſcord, when he was aſſaſſinated in his capital, in the midſt of a people, whom he had begun to make happy. The cardinal de Richelieu, buſied in humbling the houſe of Auſtria, the Calviniſts, and the grandees, did not enjoy a power ſufficiently undiſturbed to reform the nation; but he had at leaſt the honour of beginning this happy work.

Thus, for the ſpace of 900 years, our genius had been almoſt always reſtrained under a Gothic govern-

ment, in the midſt of diviſions and civil wars; deſtitute of any laws or fixed cuſtoms, changing every ſecond century a language which ſtill continued rude and unformed; the nobles were without diſcipline, and ſtrangers to every thing but war and idleneſs. The clergy lived in diſorder and ignorance, and the common people without induſtry, and ſtupified in their wretchedneſs.

The French had no ſhare either in the great diſcoveries, or admirable inventions of other nations: they have no title to the diſcoveries of painting, gun-powder, glaſſes, teleſcopes, the ſector, compaſs, the air-pump, or the true ſyſtem of the univerſe; they were making tournaments, while the Portugueſe and Spaniards were diſcovering and conquering new countries from the eaſt to the weſt of the known world. Charles V. had already ſcattered the treaſures of Mexico over Europe, before the ſubjects of Francis I. had diſcovered the uncultivated country of Canada; but by the little which the French did in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, we may ſee what they are capable of when properly conducted.

The Rape of LUCRETIA, *and the Eſtabliſhment of the Conſular Power in* Rome *.

THE ſiege of Ardea † being carried on very ſlowly, the general officers had a good deal of leiſure for diverſions, and they mutually made entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when Sextus Tarquinius was entertaining his brothers, their kinſman Collatinus being of the company, the converſation happened to turn upon the merit of wives. Every one extolled the good qualities of his own; but Collatinus

* Mr. Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. vol. i. 4to. p. 111—116.

† The capital of the Rutuli, with whom the Romans were engaged in war.

Collatinus affirmed, that his Lucretia excelled all others. It was a kind of quarrel, and in order to end it, they took the method which mirth and wine inſpired; which was to mount their horſes, and to ſurprize their wives: and it was agreed, that ſhe whom they found employed in the manner moſt becoming her ſex, ſhould have the preference. Away, therefore, they galloped firſt to Rome, where they ſurprized the king's daughters-in-law all together in the midſt of feaſting and diverſions; and the ladies ſeemed much diſconcerted by the unexpected return of their huſbands. From Rome they haſtened away to Collatia, the place where Collatinus reſided in the time of peace. Though the night was far advanced when the princes arrived there, they found Lucretia up, with her maids about her, ſpinning and working in wool. The company her huſband brought her of a ſudden did not diſcompoſe her; and they were all pleaſed with the reception ſhe gave them. Sextus was ſo captivated with her beauty, and ſo inflamed with paſſion, which her inſuperable modeſty made the more violent, that he became exceedingly unwilling to leave the place; but there was an abſolute neceſſity for his appearing in the camp before Ardea. However, he found a pretence to return very ſoon to Collatia; and went to lodge at his kinſman's houſe. Lucretia, in her huſband's abſence, entertained him with great civility and reſpect, and after ſupper he was conducted to his apartment. When all were aſleep he ſtole into Lucretia's chamber, and coming with his drawn ſword to her bed-ſide, laid his left hand upon her breaſt and wakened her: "Lucretia, ſaid he, I am Sextus Tarqui-"nius, if you ſpeak a word you die." Then he declared his paſſion, and by entreaties, mixed with menaces, endeavoured to make her yield to his deſires. And when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatened her alſo with infamy. He told her that he would kill one of her ſlaves, lay him naked by her when ſhe was dead, and then declare to all the world that he had only revenged the injured honour of Collatinus.

latinus. The dread of ignominy was too powerful for Lucretia's conſtancy; Sextus obtained his wiſhes, and early the next morning appeared again in the camp. Lucretia, though ſhe had eſcaped what ſhe dreaded as the greateſt of evils, yet could not endure the thoughts of life after the violence ſhe had ſuffered. She dreſſed herſelf in mourning, took a ponyard under her robe, wrote to her huſband at the camp to meet her at her father Lucretius's houſe, and then mounting her chariot came to Rome. People were ſurprized to ſee her wearing all the marks of the deepeſt ſorrow, and often aſked her as ſhe paſſed along what was the cauſe of her grief. She anſwered them only by weeping; and, when the ſame queſtion was put to her at her father's houſe, ſhe ſtill refuſed to diſcover the matter, till there ſhould be a full aſſembly of her friends and relations, whom ſhe deſired might be called together. Upon the firſt ſummons great numbers of the nobility crowded to the houſe, and amongſt the reſt P. Valerius (afterwards Poplicola) and Lucius Junius, who ſeems to have waited for this moment to throw off that maſk of ſtupidity, which had got him the ſurname of Brutus. When the aſſembly was pretty numerous, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to her huſband Collatinus, diſcloſed in few words the whole ſecret, her own ſhame and his diſhonour, and the treacherous author of both: ſhe proteſted the unſpotted innocence of her heart, but at the ſame time declared her firm reſolution not to live, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpuniſhed. All who were preſent gave her, one by one, their ſolemn promiſe, to revenge the inſult ſhe had ſuffered; they alſo endeavoured to comfort her, by telling her, that the body could not ſin, and that there could be no guilt where the mind was unconſenting; but nothing could divert her from the deſperate reſolution ſhe had taken: "No, ſaid ſhe, no woman ſhall hereafter "ſurvive her honour, and ſay, Lucretia was her exam-"ple;" and then having embraced her father and her huſband, as one that bids a laſt farewell, ſhe immediately plunged the concealed dagger into her breaſt.

Her father and huſband, ſtarting, cried out as ſhe fell at their feet; a mixture of compaſſion and fury ſeized the whole aſſembly; and the blood which Lucretia ſhed to atteſt her innocence, or repair her glory, ſerved likewiſe to cement the union of thoſe illuſtrious patriots who gave liberty to Rome. For Brutus going near the dying lady, drew the ponyard out of her boſom, and, ſhewing it all bloody to the aſſembly, "Yes, ſaid he, "I ſwear by this blood which was once ſo pure, and "which nothing but royal villany could have polluted, "that I will purſue Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, his "wicked wife and their children, with fire and ſword, "nor will ever ſuffer any of that family, or any other "whatſoever, to be king in Rome; ye Gods, I call "you to witneſs this my oath!" This ſaid, he preſented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the reſt of the company, and engaged them to take the ſame oath. Theſe noble Romans, ſtruck with amazement at the prodigious appearance of wiſdom in an idiot, looked on him as inſpired, and ſubmitted entirely to his conduct. He then let them know that his folly had been only feigned, he exhorted them to defer lamenting the death of Lucretia to another time, to behave themſelves now like men and Romans, and think only of revenging it; and he adviſed them to begin by ſhutting the gates of Rome, and placing a truſty guard to ſecure them, that no body might go out of the city to give notice at the camp of what was doing. This counſel was approved, and, as Lucretius had been left governor of the city by Tarquin, was put in execution without difficulty.

Then Brutus cauſing the yet bleeding Lucretia to be carried to the place where the Comitia were uſually held, and placing the corps where it might be ſeen by every body, ordered the people to be called together. By a ſurprizing inſtance of good fortune, he happened to be legally inveſted with the power of aſſembling the Comitia; this right was annexed to the office of tribune, or chief commander of the king's horſe-guards, which Tarquin had given him, becauſe he thought him incapable

pable of uſing it to his diſadvantage. When the multitude were aſſembled, the imagined idiot, to their great ſurprize, addreſſing himſelf to them, began with an apology for his preſuming to ſpeak in public on ſo important an occaſion; he in a few words explained to them all the myſtery of his paſt conduct, and the neceſſity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means to preſerve his life, after the murder of his father and elder brother. He then proceeded to tell them the reſolution the patricians were come to of depoſing the tyrant, and preſſed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to concur in that deſign. He enumerated the crimes by which Tarquin, in concert with the wicked Tullia, had made his way to the throne. He put them in mind of Aruns Tarquinius (the tyrant's brother) and the elder Tullia, both perſons of amiable diſpoſitions, and both treacherouſly poiſoned, he by his wife the preſent queen, ſhe by her huſband the preſent king; the criminal nuptials that followed theſe ſecret murders, and the horrid tragedy that followed theſe nuptials; Servius Tullius, the juſteſt, the mildeſt, the moſt beneficent of kings, openly aſſaſſinated, and the cruel Tullia riding in triumph over the body of her expiring father: "O "execrable fact! Ye Gods, the avengers of injured "parents, ye beheld it. But why ſhould I dwell on "theſe crimes committed by the tyrant againſt his own "family and blood? The wrongs he has done his "country, his cruelties to every one of you in particular, are inſufferable and without end. With what "an utter contempt of all our laws did he uſurp an "elective kingdom? And how has he maintained "himſelf in his illegal power? By murders, by baniſhments, by the oppreſſion of all his ſubjects. As for "the Patricians—you ſee the condition to which we "are reduced;—I ſhall ſay nothing of it—our greateſt "enemies could not behold it without compaſſion. "And as for you, Plebeians, what is become of your "rights and privileges? Are you ever called together "to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices? To elect your magiſtrates?

" Or to give your ſuffrages in public affairs? Have
" you not been treated as the vileſt of ſlaves? The
" victorious Romans, victorious over all the nations
" around them, are condemned at home to undergo
" the moſt painful drudgeries, to be hewers of ſtone,
" to ſweat under heavy burthens, to work in mines,
" and breathe the unwholſome air of ſinks and com-
" mon ſewers. And are theſe miſeries, theſe indigni-
" ties never to have an end? Or if you ever propoſe
" to aſſert your freedom, how long will you delay it?
" You wait, perhaps, for Tarquin's death. But what
" benefit would accrue to you from that? He has three
" ſons, more wicked, if poſſible, than himſelf. By
" what the eldeſt of them has now done, you may
" judge what is to be expected from ſuch a race.
" There! Romans, turn your eyes to that ſad ſpec-
" tacle—the daughter of Lucretius—Collatinus's wife
" —She died by her own hand. See there a noble
" lady whom the luſt of a Tarquin reduced to the ne-
" ceſſity of being her own executioner, to atteſt her
" innocence. Sextus, hoſpitably entertained by her
" as a kinſman of her huſband's;—Sextus, perfidious
" gueſt, became her brutal raviſher. The chaſte, the
" generous Lucretia could not ſurvive the inſult.
" Glorious woman! once only treated as a ſlave, ſhe
" thought life no longer to be endured. Lucretia, a
" woman, diſdained a life that depended on a tyrant's
" will; and ſhall we, ſhall men with ſuch an exam-
" ple before our eyes, and after five and twenty years
" of ignominious ſervitude, ſhall we, through a fear of
" dying, defer one ſingle inſtant to aſſert our liberty?
" No, Romans, now is the time; the favourable mo-
" ment, we have ſo long waited for, is come. Tar-
" quin is abſent from Rome: the patricians are at the
" head of the enterprize: the city is abundantly pro-
" vided with men, arms, and all things neceſſary.
" There is nothing wanting to ſecure the ſucceſs, if
" our own courage does not fail us. And ſhall thoſe
" warriors who have ever been ſo brave when foreign
" enemies were to be ſubdued, or when conqueſts were

" to

" to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of a " tyrant, be then only cowards, when they are to de- " liver themſelves from ſlavery? Some of you are per- " haps intimidated by the army which Tarquin now " commands. The ſoldiers, you imagine, will take " the part of their general. Baniſh ſo groundleſs a " fear. The love of liberty is natural to all men. " Your fellow citizens in the camp feel the weight of " oppreſſion with as quick a ſenſe as you that are in " Rome, and will as eagerly ſeize the occaſion of " throwing off the yoke. But ſhould we grant, there " may be ſome among them, who through baſeneſs " of ſpirit, or a bad education, will be diſpoſed to " favour the tyrant, the number of theſe can be but " ſmall, and we have means ſufficient in our hands to " reduce them to reaſon. They have left us hoſtages " more dear to them than life. Their wives, their " children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in " the city. Courage! Romans, the Gods are for us, " thoſe Gods whoſe temples and altars the impious " Tarquin has profaned by ſacrifices and libations " made with polluted hands, polluted with blood, and " with numberleſs inexpiated crimes committed againſt " his ſubjects. O ye Gods, who protected our fore- " fathers, and ye Genii, who watch for the preſerva- " tion and glory of Rome, do you inſpire us with " courage and unanimity in this glorious cauſe, and " we will to our laſt breath defend your worſhip from " all profanation."

Brutus's harangue was often interrupted by the acclamations of the people. Some wept at the remembrance of paſt ſufferings; others out of joy, at the hopes of a more happy government; and every one called out for arms. But Brutus did not judge it proper to arm the people, till they had firſt confirmed, by their ſuffrages, a decree of the ſenate, which was to this effect: It deprived Tarquin of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his poſterity to perpetual baniſhment, and devoted to the Gods of hell every Roman who ſhould hereafter by

word or deed endeavour his reſtoration. The Curiæ being aſſembled and the matter propoſed, they were all unanimous in confirming the ſenate's decree.

And now the government being reduced to an interregnum, and the people having declared Spurius Lucretius (the father of Lucretia) inter-rex, the great and important queſtion, the future form of government, was debated by the leaders in the revolution. And here again Brutus diſcovered himſelf to be a conſummate politician: "Experience, ſaid he, has ſhewn us in "the examples of Romulus and Numa, and other "good kings, that it is by no means proper that "Rome ſhould be without ſupreme magiſtrates, to "keep an even balance of the powers of the ſenate and "people; but it is neceſſary that the ſovereign autho-"rity ſhould neither center in one man, nor be per-"petual; let it be divided between two, who may "jointly make the intereſt of the public their chief "concern; they will be a check upon each other, and "have a mutual emulation in the diſcharge of their "duty. However, let us take particular care, not to "continue their power too long, leſt they abuſe it, and "become unwilling to part with it. Let us change "the very names of king and kingdom, and give the "two heads that are to govern us, the name of Conſuls, "and the Roman ſtate that of Republic. Let us abo-"liſh the pompous enſigns of regal power, ſcepters, "crowns, and royal robes; let our Conſuls only ſit "on an Ivory chair, wear a white robe, and be attended "by twelve lictors. But what am I ſaying? I am not "for utterly aboliſhing the venerable name of king, "which was conſecrated by the ſame auſpices as Rome "herſelf at her foundation. Let us give it to that "magiſtrate to whom we commit the ſuperintendency "of religion; let his office be for life, and let him be "called King of ſacred things." The whole council approved of this ſcheme; and the people, being again aſſembled by Curiæ, eſtabliſhed the new form of adminiſtration by a law.

The Conqueſt of England *by* WILLIAM *Duke of* Normandy *.

BRITAIN, in ſpite of the native bravery of her people, has been always deſtined to be governed by foreigners. After the death of Alfred †, which happened in 900, England ſunk again into barbariſm and anarchy. The ancient Anglo-Saxons, its firſt conquerors, and the Danes its new uſurpers, were always diſputing the poſſeſſion, and freſh Daniſh pirates frequently came in alſo, to partake of the ſpoils of that unhappy iſland. Theſe pirates continued ſo formidable, and the Engliſh ſo weak, that in the year 1000, the latter were obliged to purchaſe their quiet of them for 48,000*l.* ſterling: and to raiſe this ſum, a tax was impoſed, which laſted for a long time in England, as indeed moſt other taxes do, which generally continue to be levied long after the occaſion which gave riſe to them is ceaſed. This humbling tribute was called Danegelt, or Daniſh money.

Canute, king of Denmark, ſurnamed the Great, only for performing great acts of cruelty ‡, reduced both Denmark and England under his ſubjection in 1017. The native Engliſh were then treated like ſlaves; in ſo much that the hiſtorians of thoſe times acknowledge, that when an Engliſhman met a Dane he was obliged to ſtop till the latter had paſſed by.

The

---

* Voltaire's Hiſt. Works, vol. i. p. 269—277.

† Alfred was ſucceeded by a ſeries of great princes, Edward, Athelſtan, Edmund, Edred, and Edgar, who governed the kingdom with equal capacity and ſucceſs. The confuſion did not begin till the reign of Ethelred, who aſcended the throne about fourſcore years after the death of Alfred.

‡ Though Canute had ſhed an ocean of blood, and trampled under foot all laws divine and human in making his way to the crown, he was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the regal authority, than he ſeemed to change his diſpoſition, and became conſpicuous for his juſtice, piety, clemency, and moderation.

The race of Canute failing in 1041, the ſtates of the kingdom reſuming their liberty, conferred the crown on Edward, a deſcendant from the antient Anglo-Saxon kings, who was called a ſaint and confeſſor. One of the great faults, or great misfortunes of this king, was his having no children by his wife Edith, daughter to one of the moſt powerful noblemen of his kingdom. He hated his wife, as well as his own mother, and for reaſons of ſtate, had them both removed from court. However, the barrenneſs of his marriage-bed proved the occaſion of his canonization; for it was pretended that he had made a vow of chaſtity; a raſh vow ſurely for a married man, and highly abſurd in a king, who ſtood in need of an heir to his dominions. But by this vow, real or pretended, he forged new chains for his wretched country.

The cuſtoms and manners of thoſe times appear to have been abſolutely different from ours. William duke of Normandy, who conquered England, was ſo far from having any right to that kingdom, that he had not even any to Normandy, if birth-right had taken place; for his father Robert, who was never married, had him by the daughter of a ſkinner of Falaiſe, whom hiſtory calls Harlot, a word which then ſignified and ſtill continues to ſignify, in Engliſh, a common woman, a proſtitute. This baſtard, who was acknowledged in his father's life-time his lawful heir, maintained himſelf by his dexterity and valour, in the poſſeſſion of his dutchy, againſt all who attempted to diſpute it with him, and reigned peaceably in Normandy, and Brittany did him homage. Upon the death of Edward the Confeſſor, he had made pretenſions to the kingdom of England. There was no eſtabliſhed right of ſucceſſion * at that time in any one ſtate in Europe. The crown of

* The right of ſucceſſion was generally eſtabliſhed all over Europe, though, in ſome caſes, it was prevented from taking effect, by the violence of uſurpation, againſt which no right or eſtabliſhment can avail.

of Germany was elective; that of Spain divided between the Chriſtians and Moors; Lombardy was every day changing maſters; the race of Charlemagne, driven from the throne of France, was an example of what force can do againſt the right of blood. Edward the Confeſſor did not wear the crown by right of inheritance. Harold, who ſucceeded him, was not of his family, but came to the throne by the moſt inconteſtible of all rights, the ſuffrages of the people. The baſtard, William, could plead neither the right of election, nor that of inheritance, nor even any party in his favour in England. He pretended that in a former voyage he had made to this iſland, king Edward had made a will in his favour, which, however, no one had ever ſeen. He pretended moreover, that he had formerly delivered Harold from priſon, who had in return yielded up to him his right to the crown of England. Theſe weak reaſons he ſupported by a powerful army.

The Norman barons, aſſembled in form of a diet, refuſed to furniſh their duke with money towards carrying on this expedition, alledging, that if he ſhould not ſucceed, Normandy would be impoveriſhed; and that, if he did, it would become only a province to England: nevertheleſs, there were ſeveral Norman lords who riſqued their fortunes with their duke. One ſingle nobleman, named Fitz-Othbern or Fitz-Oſborn, equipped forty veſſels at his own expence. The count of Flanders, father-in-law to the duke, aſſiſted him with a ſum of money, and the pope himſelf engaged in his intereſt, and excommunicated all thoſe who oppoſed his deſigns. At length he ſet out from St. Valeri with a numerous fleet, but the exact number of ſhips and ſoldiers is not known. He landed on the coaſt of Suſſex the 14th of October 1066; and ſoon after was fought the famous battle of Haſtings, which alone decided the fate of England. The Engliſh with king Harold at their head, and the Normans commanded by their duke, engaged for twelve hours together. The cavalry, who fought in armour, and

began

began to be looked upon every where elſe as the chief ſtrength of an army, does not appear to have been made uſe of in this battle *. The chiefs fought on foot; king Harold and his two brothers were ſlain, and the conqueror marched to London, having a conſecrated banner, which he had received from the pope, carried before him. This banner was as a ſtandard to which all the biſhops flocked, and declared unanimouſly in his favour. They came to the gates, attended by the magiſtrates of the city, and made him the tender of a crown, which they were not in a condition to refuſe to a conqueror.

William knew equally as well how to govern, as to conquer, and ſignalized his reign, by extinguiſhing rebellions, fruſtrating invaſions, and exacting and ſeverely executing rigorous laws. The antient Britons, the Danes, and Anglo-Saxons, lay now all confounded in the ſame ſtate of ſlavery. His brave Normans who had aſſiſted him in his conqueſt were rewarded by him with the lands of the conquered. Hence came that multitude of Norman families, whoſe deſcendants, or at leaſt their names, ſtill ſubſiſt in England. He cauſed an exact liſt to be taken of all the goods of his ſubjects of what nature ſoever; and by this artful management, writers tell us, that he raiſed a revenue of 400,000 *l.* of the then Engliſh ſterling money, which would make five millions ſterling of the preſent money of that country, and about an hundred millions of our French livres. But it is plain that hiſtorians are greatly miſtaken in this account; for the revenue of England, which now includes Scotland and Ireland, does not all amount to ſo much, if we deduct what is levied for the payment of the national debt †. This, however, is certain

* The Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that the Normans had a ſtrong body of cavalry armed cap-a-pee; and that theſe in the purſuit made a terrible carnage.

† The ſtanding revenue is not ſo great, becauſe it is eſtabliſhed by a mild legiſlature, compoſed of the people themſelves; but in

certain that William aboliſhed all the antient laws of the country, to make way for thoſe of Normandy. He moreover ordered, that all pleadings ſhould be in the Norman language; and all the public acts continued to be iſſued in that language till the time of Edward III. William was reſolved that the language of the conquerors ſhould be that of the country, and ſchools for teaching the Norman tongue were eſtabliſhed, in all the towns and villages.

This language was a mixture of French and Daniſh; which formed a barbarous dialect, that had not the leaſt advantage over that ſpoken in England. He is ſaid, not only to have treated the conquered nation with ſeverity, but even affected a whimſical and capricious kind of tyranny; as an inſtance of which they alledge his law called the Curfeu or Covre-feu, by which he obliged people at the ſound of a bell, to put out the fires in their houſes at eight o'clock in the evening. But this law was ſo far from being an act of tyranny, that it is an antient policy eſtabliſhed in almoſt

---

in caſes of emergency, the annual revenue has been raiſed to near five times the ſum. William, on the other hand, owned no reſtraint but his own will, and taxed the kingdom to the extent of its abilities. His revenue, excluſive of the old demeſne-lands, ſet apart for ſupplying his houſhold with all ſorts of proviſion, conſiſted in a land-tax called Danegelt, a quit-rent out of all the lands of England, wardſhips, reliefs, and fines, livery of hereditary lands, aſſignation of dower, licences of marriage, leave to ſue in the king's court, mulcts and forfeitures for marrying without licence, and other miſdemeanours; beſides the pecuniary penalties by which all ſorts of crimes were puniſhed; tolls and cuſtoms for paſſage, freedom of fairs and markets, protection and liberty of buying and ſelling, duties laid upon merchandize, &c. Over and above theſe general branches he received occaſional aids due from the fees of thoſe who held of the crown by knight's-ſervice; and occaſionally levied taillage upon ſoccage tenants and trading towns. His revenue amounted to 400,000*l.* a year; every pound being equal to that weight of ſilver; conſequently the whole to be eſtimated at 1,200,000*l.* of the preſent computation; a ſum which, conſidering the different value of money between that period and the preſent time, was equivalent to twelve millions of money of modern eſtimation.

almoſt all the cities in the north; and was for a long time obſerved in cloiſters. The houſes were all built of wood, and the fear of fire made it the principal concern of the magiſtracy to prevent, by all poſſible means, accidents of that kind.

He is likewiſe reproached with having deſtroyed all the villages within the compaſs of thirty miles, to make a foreſt, in which he might take the diverſion of hunting: but ſuch an action is too abſurd to be probable. Writers who relate this do not conſider, that it would require at leaſt twenty years to make a new plantation a proper place for hunting in. They tell us, he planted this foreſt in 1080, when he was fifty-three years old. Now is it probable that a man of any underſtanding ſhould, at ſuch an age, have deſtroyed ſo many villages, to ſow a tract of land, of thirty miles in length, with trees, in hopes of one day hunting in it *?

The conqueror of England became the terror of Philip I. king of France, who endeavoured too late to humble this powerful vaſſal; and fell upon Mayne, at that time dependent on the duchy of Normandy. William, upon the news of this, croſſed the ſea, recovered Mayne, and obliged Philip to ſue for peace.

The pretenſions of the church of Rome, never ſhewed themſelves in a more ſingular manner than with regard to this prince. Pope Gregory VII. took the advantage of the time in which he was engaged in a war with France, to require homage of him for the kingdom of England;

---

* The hiſtorian does not conſider, that there was no occaſion to plant; the whole country here-about was naturally a foreſt; and William had nothing to do, but to turn out the inhabitants and incloſe the ground. He depopulated the country in Hampſhire to the extent of thirty miles; and deſtroyed all the villages, houſes, and even churches, which ſtood in that tract; but he had no occaſion to plant even a ſingle tree.—With reſpect to the curfeu, it was doubtleſs an inſtitution in Normandy and other countries ruled by an arbitrary government; but not the leſs grievous to the free-born Engliſh.

England; founding his pretenſions on the antient Peter's-pence, which had been paid by that kingdom to the church of Rome; amounting to about three livres of our money for each houſe, which had been always conſidered in England as a very bountiful donation, and at Rome as a tribute. William the Conqueror gave the pope to underſtand, that he might poſſibly continue this offering; but that, ſo far from paying him homage, he would forbid his people of England to acknowledge any other pope than whom he ſhould approve. Thus Gregory VII's propoſal became ridiculous by being too inſolent. This is the ſame Gregory who diſturbed all Europe with his attempts to raiſe the ſacerdotal dignity above the imperial one.

The Condemnation of CREMUTIUS CORDUS, *the Hiſtorian, by* TIBERIUS, *for having praiſed* BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS *.

WHILST Cornelius Coſſus and Aſinius Agrippa were conſuls, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned for that, "having publiſhed annals, and in them "praiſed Brutus, he had ſtiled Caſſius the laſt of the "Romans;" a new crime then firſt thought of. Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta were his accuſers; creatures of Sejanus; a mortal omen this to the accuſed; beſides that Tiberius received his defence with an implacable countenance. He began in this manner, caſting away all hopes of life:

"As to facts, I am ſo guiltleſs, conſcript fathers, "that my words only are accuſed; but neither are "any words of mine pointed againſt the emperor or "his mother; the only perſons comprehended in the "law

* Tacitus, Ann. l. 4, by Gordon, 3d edit. vol. i. p. 225.

" law concerning violated majeſty. It is alledged, " that I have praiſed Brutus and Caſſius; men whoſe " lives and actions have been compiled by a cloud of " writers, and their memory treated by none but with " honour. Titus Livius, an hiſtorian eminently fa- " mous for eloquence and veracity, celebrated Pompey " with ſuch abundant encomiums, that he was thence " by Auguſtus named Pompeianus; nor did this " prejudice their common friendſhip. Neither Scipio, " nor Afranius, nor even this ſame Caſſius, nor this " ſame Brutus, are any where mentioned by him as " traitors and parricides, the common nick-names now " beſtowed on them; but often as great and memorable " men. The writings of Aſinius Pollio have conveyed " down the memory of the ſame men under honourable " characters. Corvinus Meſſala gloried to have had " Caſſius for his general: and yet both Pollio and Cor- " vinus became ſignally powerful in wealth and ho- " nours under Auguſtus. That book of Cicero's, in " which he exalted Cato to the ſkies; what other " animadverſions did it draw from Cæſar the dictator, " than a written reply, in the ſame ſtile and equality, " as if before his judges he had made it? The letters " of Mark Antony, the ſpeeches of Brutus, are full " of reproaches and recriminations againſt Auguſtus; " falſe in truth, but urged with ſignal aſperity. The " poems of Bibaculus and thoſe of Catullus, ſtuffed " with virulent ſatires againſt the Cæſars, are ſtill " read. But even the deified Julius, even the deified " Auguſtus, bore all theſe invectives, and left them " unſuppreſſed, whether with greater moderation or " wiſdom, I cannot eaſily ſay. For, if they are de- " ſpiſed, they fade away; if you wax wroth, you ſeem " to avow them for true.

" Inſtances from the Greeks I bring none: with " them not the freedom only, but even the licentiouſ- " neſs of ſpeech, is unpuniſhed; or if any correction " be returned, it is only by revenging words with " words. It has ever been allowed, without reſtriction " or rebuke, to paſs our judgment upon thoſe whom

" death

" death hath withdrawn from the influence of affection " or hate. Are Caſſius and Brutus now in arms? Do " they at preſent fill with troops the fields of Philippi? " Or do I fire the Roman people, by inflammatory " harangues, with the ſpirit of civil rage? Brutus " and Caſſius, now above ſeventy years ſlain, are ſtill " known in their ſtatues, which even the conqueror " did not aboliſh; and as theſe exhibit their perſons, " why not the hiſtorian their characters? Impartial " poſterity to every man repays his proper praiſe; " nor will there be wanting ſuch, as, if my death is " determined, will not only revive the ſtory of Brutus " and Caſſius, but even my ſtory."

Having thus ſaid, he withdrew from the ſenate, and ended his life by abſtinence. The fathers condemned the books to be burnt by the ædiles; but they ſtill continued to be ſecretly diſperſed. Hence we may juſtly mock the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine that they can, by preſent power, extinguiſh the lights and memory of ſucceeding times; for, quite otherwiſe, the puniſhment of writers exalts the credit of the writings; nor did ever foreign kings, or any elſe, who exerciſed the like cruelty, reap other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves, and glory to the ſufferers.

The Hiſtory of OLIVER CROMWELL *.

AFTER the murder of Charles I. the commons publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of death, to acknowledge the late king's ſon, or any other, as ſovereign of England. They likewiſe aboliſhed the houſe of lords, where there were but ſixteen peers ſitting; ſo that, in all appearance, they took into their own hands the ſovereignty of England and Ireland.

The

* Voltaire's Hiſt. Works, vol. v. p. 276—288.

The houſe of commons, which ſhould be compoſed of * five hundred and thirteen members, conſiſted then only of eighty. A new great ſeal was ordered to be made, on which was engraved theſe words, "The "parliament of the commonwealth of England." The king's ſtatue in the Royal-Exchange had been already pulled down, and now this inſcription was affixed in its room: "Charles the laſt king and the firſt tyrant."

This ſame houſe condemned to death ſeveral noblemen, who had been taken priſoners fighting for their king. It was nothing extraordinary, that thoſe who had violated the law of nations ſhould infringe the law of arms; to do which the more effectually, the duke of Hamilton, a Scottiſh nobleman, was in the number of thoſe devoted to death. This treatment was a principal means of determining the Scots to acknowledge Charles II. for their ſovereign; but at the ſame time the law of liberty was ſo deeply rivetted in all hearts, that they reſtricted the royal authority within as narrow bounds as the Engliſh parliament had done at the beginning of the troubles. The Iriſh received their new king without conditions. Cromwell then got himſelf appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and immediately ſet out for that kingdom with the flower of the army, and was attended with his uſual ſucceſs.

In the mean time Charles II. was invited over to Scotland by the parliament of that kingdom, but on the ſame conditions they had propoſed to his father. They inſiſted that he ſhould be a preſbyterian, as the Pariſians had inſiſted upon his grand-father Henry IV's becoming a Roman catholic. They reſtricted the royal prerogative in all things; whereas Charles was reſolved upon having it preſerved full and entire. His father's fate had in no wiſe weakened in him thoſe notions, which ſeem born in the heart of every monarch.

The firſt conſequence of his being proclaimed king of Scotland, was a civil war. The marquiſe of Montroſe,

* Thus it was before the union; but it now conſiſts of five hundred and fifty-eight.

Montroſe, a nobleman famous in thoſe times for his perſonal valour and ſteady attachment to the royal family, had brought ſome ſoldiers from Germany and Denmark *, which he tranſported into the north of Scotland. Here he was joined by the Highlanders, and pretending to add the rights of conqueſt to thoſe of his maſter, he was defeated, taken and hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high.

After the death of Montroſe, the king finding himſelf abſolutely without other reſource, quitted Holland, and put himſelf in the power of thoſe who had ſo lately hanged his general, and faithful friend and protector, and entered the city of Edinburgh by the very gate where the quarters of Montroſe were ſtill expoſed. The new commonwealth of England began to make inſtant preparations for a war with Scotland, reſolved that one half of the iſland ſhould not be an aſylum for a perſon who pretended to be king of the other likewiſe. This new commonwealth ſupported the change of government with as much prudence of conduct as it had ſhewn rage and fury in bringing it about; and it was an unheard of thing, that an handful of private citizens, without any chief to command them, ſhould keep the peers of the realm at a ſilent diſtance, ſtrip the biſhops of their dignity, reſtrain the people within bounds, maintain an army of ſixteen thouſand men in Ireland, and the ſame in England, ſupport a formidable fleet well provided with neceſſaries, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member in the houſe enriching himſelf at the nation's expence. To provide for ſo great a charge, they obſerved the ſtricteſt œconomy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a ſale of the forfeited lands of the biſhops and chapters for ten years. In ſhort, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds

* The marquis of Montroſe brought a few Scotch officers from the continent; but he had no other troops than about 1200 Iriſh and a few Highlanders, with whom he obtained ſeveral ſurprizing victories before he was defeated by David Leſlie.

pounds ſterling per month; a tax ten times greater than that of ſhip money, which Charles I. had attempted to raiſe by his own authority, and which had been the firſt cauſe of ſo many diſaſters.

This parliament was not under Cromwell's direction, he being at that time on his Iriſh expedition, with his ſon-in-law Ireton; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who ſtill bore a great ſway. It was reſolved by the houſe to aſſemble an army againſt the Scots, and to ſend Cromwell thither, next in command under general Fairfax; accordingly he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almoſt ſubdued. General Fairfax refuſed to accept the command of the army againſt the Scots. He was not an independent, but he was a preſbyterian, and pretended that his conſcience would not ſuffer him to attack his brethren, as they had not invaded England; and, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſolicitations of the houſe, reſigned his commiſſion, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary reſolution, at a period, and in a country, where every one acted by his own rules. This however proved the æra of Cromwell's greatneſs, who was appointed general in the place of Fairfax, and marched into Scotland at the head of an army accuſtomed to victory for upwards of ten years. He beat the Scottiſh army at Dunbar, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the city of Edinburgh. From thence he went in purſuit of Charles, who was advanced into England as far as Worceſter, in hopes that the Engliſh royaliſts would riſe in his behalf and join him there; but his army conſiſted chiefly of new-raiſed troops, raw and undiſciplined. Cromwell came up with, and attacked him on the banks of the Severn, and gained, after very little reſiſtance, the compleateſt victory that had ever crowned his arms. He carried near ſeven thouſand priſoners to London, who were ſold as ſlaves to the American planters. The victorious army made itſelf maſter of all Scotland, while Cromwell purſued the king from place to place.

Imagination,

Imagination, the parent of fiction, never conceived a train of more extraordinary adventures, more preſſing dangers, or more cruel extremities, than thoſe which Charles experienced in his flight from his father's murderer. He was obliged to travel almoſt alone through bye-paths, half ſpent with hunger and fatigue, till he arrived in Staffordſhire. There he concealed himſelf a whole night and day, in the hollow of a large oak in the midſt of a wood *, ſurrounded by Cromwell's ſoldiers, who were every where in ſearch of him. The oak was ſtill to be ſeen at the beginning of this century. Aſtronomers have given it a place among the conſtellations of the ſouthern pole, and have thus perpetuated the remembrance of theſe diſaſters. This prince, after wandering from village to village, ſometimes diſguiſed like a poſtilion, ſometimes in women's apparel, and ſometimes like a wood-cutter, at length found means to eſcape in a ſmall fiſhing-boat, and was ſafely landed in Normandy, after having undergone, for ſix weeks, a train of adventures that almoſt exceed credibility.

Cromwell, in the mean time, returned to London in triumph. He was met a few miles from the city by the ſpeaker of the houſe, accompanied by ſeveral of the members, and the mayor and magiſtrates of London in their formalities. The firſt thing he did after his return, was to perſuade the parliament to an abuſe of the victory their troops had gained, and which was ſo flattering to the Engliſh. The houſe paſſed an act for incorporating Scotland, as a conquered country, with the Engliſh commonwealth; and royalty was aboliſhed among the conquered, as it had already been among the victors.

Never had England been more powerful than ſince it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly compoſed of republicans, formed the extraordinary

* It was at Boſcobel in Shropſhire, that the king and colonel Careleſs concealed themſelves among the branches of an oak.

extraordinary project of joining the ſeven United Provinces to that of England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The ſtadtholder William II. ſon-in-law to Charles I. was lately dead, after having attempted to make himſelf abſolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted it in England, but with no better ſucceſs. He left a ſon in the cradle; and the Engliſh parliament hoped that the Dutch would as eaſily give up their ſtadtholder as the Engliſh had done its monarch; in which caſe the united republic of England, Scotland, and Holland, might hold the balance of Europe: but the friends of the houſe of Orange having vigorouſly oppoſed this project, which ſavoured greatly of the enthuſiaſm of the times, this very enthuſiaſm determined the Engliſh parliament to declare war againſt Holland. The two republics had ſeveral engagements at ſea with various ſucceſs. Some of the wiſeſt among the members, who began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, concurred in carrying on the war, that they might have a pretence for encreaſing the navy expence, which might oblige the parliament to diſband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general.

Cromwell ſaw into their ſchemes, as they had penetrated into his; and now he threw off the maſk entirely, and ſhewed himſelf in his proper colours. He told major general Vernon, that "he was compelled to do "that which made his hair ſtand an end." He haſtened to the houſe with a detachment of choſen men, and followed by the officers who were moſt at his devotion, and ſet a guard upon the door; then he entered and took his place, and after ſome little pauſe, "Methinks, ſaid he, this parliament is ripe enough "to be diſſolved." Some of the members having reproached him with ingratitude, he ſtarted up in the middle of the houſe, and exclaimed, "The Lord has "done with you, and has made choice of other in-"ſtruments." After this fanatic ſpeech he reviled all preſent in the moſt opprobrious terms, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whore-maſter, and telling

them all that the goſpel condemned them, and that they had nothing to do but to diſſolve themſelves immediately. His officers and ſoldiers then entered the houſe, where pointing to the mace, he bad one of them "take away that bauble." Major general Harriſon then went up to the ſpeaker, and obliged him to leave the chair by violence; Cromwell then turning to the members, "It is you, added he, that have "forced me upon this. I have prayed to the Lord "night and day that he would rather ſlay me than "put me upon this work." Having ſaid this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the doors himſelf, and carried away the key in his pocket.

What is ſtill more ſtrange is, that the parliament being thus diſſolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legiſlative authority, every thing did not fall into confuſion. Cromwell called a council of his officers, and it was by them that the conſtitution of the ſtate was truly changed. On this occaſion that happened in England, which we have already ſeen happen in all countries in the world; the ſtrong gave laws to the weak.

At Cromwell's inſtigation, this council nominated one hundred and forty-four perſons to repreſent the nation in parliament; theſe were chiefly taken from the loweſt claſs of the people, ſuch as ſhop-keepers and journeymen handicrafts. One of the moſt active members of this parliament was a leather-ſeller, named Barebones, from whom this aſſembly was called Barebone's Parliament.

Cromwell, as general, ſent a written order to all theſe members, requiring them to come and take upon them the ſovereign power, and to govern the nation. This aſſembly, after ſitting five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, came to a reſolution to diſſolve itſelf, and reſigned the ſovereign power into the hands of the council of war, who thereupon, of their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms, and ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen to join in the

ſame. Oliver was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, and there inſtalled in the royal palace, where he afterwards took up his reſidence. He was honoured with the title of Your Highneſs; and the city of London invited him to a feaſt, where the ſame honours were ſhewn him as had been paid to their kings. Thus did a private gentleman of Wales *, from an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocriſy, riſe to the kingly power, though under another name.

He was near fifty-three years of age when he attained the ſovereign power, forty-two years of which time he had paſſed without having had any employ civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commiſſion for a major of horſe. From this beginning it was that he roſe to be maſter of that houſe and the army; and after having ſubdued Charles I. and his ſon, ſtept into their throne; and without being king, reigned more abſolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. He choſe a council conſiſting of fourteen of the principal officers, who had been the companions of his fortunes, to each of whom he aſſigned a penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling. The forces were paid one month's advance; the magazines of all kinds were regularly ſupplied. In the treaſury, of which he had the ſole management, there were three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and about one hundred and fifty thouſand in that of Ireland. The Dutch ſued to him for peace, and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they ſhould pay three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; that the ſhips of the States-General ſhould pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag; and that the young prince of Orange ſhould never be reſtored to the offices or poſts of his anceſtors. This was the ſame prince who afterwards dethroned James II. as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

All

* He was born at Huntingdon of a good family, though he inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his family.

All the nations of Europe vied with each other in courting the protector. France courted his alliance againſt Spain, and put Dunkirk into his hands. His admirals took the iſland of Jamaica from the Spaniards, which has ever ſince remained with the Engliſh. Ireland was entirely ſubdued, and treated like a conquered country. The eſtates of the vanquiſhed were beſtowed upon the victors; and thoſe who were moſt attached to the royal cauſe, died by the hands of the common executioner.

Cromwell, who governed with all the authority of a king, convoked ſeveral parliaments; but as he was always their maſter, he diſſolved them whenever he pleaſed. He diſcovered all the plots that were formed againſt him, and prevented many inſurrections. The peers were wholly excluded from his parliament, and lived in obſcurity on their reſpective eſtates. He had the addreſs to prevail on one of theſe parliaments, to make him a tender of the royal dignity, that he might refuſe it; and by that means, more effectually ſecure his real power. He reſided in the royal palace, where he lived a retired and gloomy life, without the leaſt pomp or extravagance. General Ludlow, who was his lieutenant in Ireland, relates, that when the protector ſent his ſon Henry Cromwell over to that kingdom, he ſent only one ſervant to attend him. He was always of a moroſe diſpoſition; he was ſober, temperate, ſaving, though not greedy of another's poſſeſſions; he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By this dexterous management, he kept well with all ſects; he did not perſecute thoſe of the Romiſh communion, or of the church of England, who now hardly dared to ſhew their heads; he had chaplains of all parties; he was an enthuſiaſt with the fanatics (now called the Preſbyterians) whom he had cheated, ſubdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at them with the Deiſts, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not ſubſiſt but through him. By this conduct, he preſerved to his laſt hour, an authority which

had been cemented with blood, and ſupported by force and artifice.

Notwithſtanding his ſobriety, nature had limited his life to fifty-eight years. He died of a common fever, occaſioned probably by the anxiety of mind, ever attendant upon tyranny; for towards the latter part of his life, he was under continual apprehenſions of being aſſaſſinated: he never lay two nights together in the ſame room. At his death, he nominated his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor in the protectorſhip. As ſoon as the breath was out of his body, one of his preſbyterian chaplains, named Herries, comforted the by-ſtanders with this ſpeech: "Do not be diſmayed; as he protected the Lord's people ſo long as he remained amongſt us, he will protect us more powerfully, now that he is aſcended into Heaven, where he will be ſeated at the right hand of Chriſt." The ſpirit of Fanaticiſm was ſo powerful at that time, and Cromwell was held in ſuch high eſteem, that no one laughed at this ridiculous notion.

Notwithſtanding the different intereſts which prevailed at that time, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council iſſued an order for the funeral of the deceaſed protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. They choſe as a model on this occaſion, the ceremonial which had been uſed at the death of Philip II. king of Spain. It is to be obſerved, that Philip was repreſented as being in purgatory for two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with only a few tapers. He was afterwards repreſented as in Heaven. The body was laid on a bed, richly adorned with gold, in an apartment hung with cloth of the ſame, and illuminated with upwards of five hundred tapers, the light of which was again reflected from ſilver plates, which formed a luſtre, equal to that of the Sun at noon day. The ſame ceremony was obſerved at Oliver's funeral. He was laid on a bed of ſtate, with the crown on his head, and a golden ſceptre in his hand. The people gave little attention

attention either to this imitation of a Romiſh ceremony, or the magnificence with which it was accompanied. The dead body was embalmed and depoſited in the royal vault, from whence Charles II. after his reſtoration, cauſed it to be removed, and expoſed upon a gallows.

Of the famous CORSAIRS, HORUC BARBAROSSA, *and his Brother* HAYRADIN *.

ABOUT the beginning of the ſixteenth century, a ſudden revolution happened, which by rendering the ſtates of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, has made their hiſtory worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by perſons born in a rank of life, which entitled them to act no ſuch illuſtrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the ſons of a potter in the Iſle of Leſbos, prompted by a reſtleſs and enterprizing ſpirit, forſook their father's trade, ran to ſea, and joined a crew of pirates. They ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour and activity; and becoming maſters of a ſmall brigantine, carried on their infamous trade, with ſuch conduct and ſucceſs, that they aſſembled a fleet of twelve galleys, beſides many veſſels of ſmaller force. Of this fleet Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbaroſſa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin ſecond in command, but with almoſt equal authority. They called themſelves the friends of the Sea, and the enemies of all who ſail upon it; and their names ſoon became terrible from the ſtraits of the Dardanelles to thoſe of Gibraltar. Together with their fame and power, their ambitious views opened and enlarged, and while acting as Corſairs, they adopted the ideas, and

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Char. V. 4to. vol. ii. p. 364—375.

and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the prizes which they took on the coaſts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary; and enriching the inhabitants by the ſale of their booty, and the thoughtleſs prodigality of their crews, were welcome gueſts in every place at which they touched. The convenient ſituation of theſe harbours lying ſo near the greateſt commercial ſtates at that time in Chriſtendom, made the brothers wiſh for an eſtabliſhment in that country. An opportunity of accompliſhing this, quickly preſented itſelf, which they did not ſuffer to paſs unimproved. Eutemi, king of Algiers, having attempted ſeveral times, without ſucceſs, to take a fort which the Spaniſh governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was ſo ill adviſed as to apply for aid to Barbaroſſa, whoſe valour the Africans conſidered as irreſiſtable. The active Corſair gladly accepted of the invitation; and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thouſand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and obſerving that the Moors neither ſuſpected him of any bad intention, nor were capable with their light-armed troops, of oppoſing his diſciplined veterans, he ſecretly murdered the monarch whom he had come to aſſiſt, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Algiers in his ſtead. The authority which he had thus boldly uſurped, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh, by arts ſuited to the genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to thoſe who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no leſs unbounded towards all whom he had any reaſon to diſtruſt. Not ſatisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring king of Tremecen; and having vanquiſhed him in battle, added his dominions to thoſe of Algiers. At the ſame time, he continued to infeſt the coaſts of Spain and Italy with fleets, which reſembled the armaments of a great monarch, rather than the light ſquadrons of a Corſair. The devaſtations which theſe committed

obliged

obliged Charles, about the beginning of his reign, to furniſh the Marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops ſufficient to attack him. That officer, aſſiſted by the dethroned king of Tremecen, executed the commiſſion with ſuch ſpirit, that Barbaroſſa's troops being beat in ſeveral encounters, he himſelf was ſhut up in Tremecen; after defending it to the laſt extremity, he was overtaken in attempting to make his eſcape, and ſlain while he fought with an obſtinate valour, worthy of his former fame and exploits.

His brother Hayradin, known likewiſe by the name of Barbaroſſa, aſſumed the ſceptre of Algiers with the ſame ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undiſturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conqueſts on the continent of Africa. But perceiving, that the Moors and Arabs ſubmitted to his government with the utmoſt impatience; and being afraid, that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Chriſtians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkiſh ſoldiers, ſufficient for his ſecurity againſt his domeſtic, as well as his foreign enemies. At laſt, the fame of his exploits daily increaſing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkiſh fleet, as the only perſon whoſe valour and ſkill in naval affairs entitled him to command againſt Andrew Doria, the greateſt ſea officer of that age. Proud of this diſtinction, Barbaroſſa repaired to Conſtantinople, and with a wonderful verſatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldneſs of a Corſair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a ſcheme that he had formed of making himſelf maſter of Tunis, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom at that time on the coaſt of Africa; which being

approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution.

His hopes of ſucceſs in this undertaking, were founded on the inteſtine diviſions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the laſt king of that country, having thirty-four ſons by different wives, named Muley Haſcen, one of the youngeſt among them, his ſucceſſor. That weak prince, who owed this preference not to his own merit, but to the aſcendant which his mother had acquired over an old doating monarch, firſt poiſoned his father, in order to prevent him from altering his deſtination; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of ſucceſſion is not preciſely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraſchid, one of the eldeſt, was ſo fortunate as to eſcape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made ſeveral attempts, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged to him. But theſe proving unſucceſsful, and the Arabs, from their natural levity, being ready to deliver him up to his mercileſs brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbaroſſa; who, diſcerning at once, all the advantages that might be gained by ſupporting his title, received him with every poſſible demonſtration of friendſhip and reſpect. Being ready, at that time, to ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, he eaſily perſuaded Alraſchid, whoſe eagerneſs to obtain a crown diſpoſed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither; promiſing him effectual aſſiſtance from Solyman, whom he repreſented to be the moſt generous, as well as the moſt powerful monarch in the world. But no ſooner were they arrived at Conſtantinople, than the falſe Corſair, regardleſs of all his promiſes to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkiſh empire, by making uſe of the name of this exiled prince, and by means of the party ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved,

proved, with too much facility, of this perfidious propoſal, extremely ſuitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were ſoon aſſembled; at the ſight of which, the credulous Alraſchid flattered himſelf, that he would ſoon enter his capital in triumph.

But juſt as this unhappy prince was going to embark, he was arreſted by order of the Sultan, ſhut up in the Seraglio, and was never heard of more. Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty veſſels towards Africa. After ravaging the coaſts of Italy, and ſpreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to aſſert the right of Alraſchid, whom he pretended to have left ſick aboard the admiral galley. The fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, ſoon fell into his hands, partly by his own addreſs, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Haſcen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraſchid with ſuch zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly ſo precipitately, that he left all his treaſures behind him. The gates were immediately ſet open to Barbaroſſa, as the reſtorer of their lawful ſovereign: But when Alraſchid himſelf did not appear, and when inſtead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the Turkiſh ſoldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to ſuſpect the Corſair's treachery; and their ſuſpicions being ſoon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmoſt fury, and ſurrounded the citadel, into which Barbaroſſa had led his troops. But having foreſeen ſuch a revolution, he was not unprepared for it; he immediately turned againſt them the artillery on the ramparts, and by one briſk diſcharge of it, and of his ſmall arms, he diſperſed the numerous, but undirected aſſailants, and forced them to acknowledge Solyman as their ſovereign, and to ſubmit to himſelf as his viceroy.

His firſt care was to put the kingdom, of which he had thus got poſſeſſion, in a proper poſture of defence. He ſtrengthened the citadel which commands the town; and fortifying the Goletta in a regular manner, at vaſt expence, made it the principal ſtation for his fleet, and his great arſenal both for military and naval ſtores. Being now poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive territories, he carried on his depredations againſt the chriſtian ſtates to a greater extent, and with more deſtructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers, were brought to the Emperor by his ſubjects, both in Spain and Italy. All Chriſtendom ſeemed to expect from him, as its greateſt and moſt fortunate prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious ſpecies of oppreſſion. At the ſame time Muley-Haſcen, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan princes in Africa, willing or able to aſſiſt him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only perſon who could aſſert his rights in oppoſition to ſuch a formidable uſurper. The Emperor, equally deſirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbaroſſa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age, to every expedition againſt the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war, in a late campaign in Hungary, he was now become ſo fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occaſion in perſon. The united ſtrength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize, in which the Emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemiſh fleet carried from the ports of the low-country a body of German infantry; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſo many victories over the French; the Emperor himſelf embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spaniſh nobility, and

was joined by a conſiderable ſquadron from Portugal, under the command of the Infant Don Lewis, the Empreſs's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the beſt appointed at that time in Europe, and commanded by the moſt ſkilful officers: The Pope furniſhed all the aſſiſtance in his power, towards ſuch a pious enterprize; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the infidels, equipped a ſmall ſquadron, but formidable by the valour of the knights who ſerved on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia, was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed high admiral of the fleet; the command in chief of the land forces was given to the Marquis di Guaſto.

On the ſixteenth of July, 1535, the fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred veſſels, having on board above thirty thouſand regular troops, ſet ſail from Cagliari; and after a proſperous navigation, landed within ſight of Tunis. Barbaroſſa, having early intelligence of the Emperor's immenſe armament, and ſuſpecting its deſtination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conqueſt. He called in all his Corſairs from their different ſtations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be ſpared; he diſpatched meſſengers to all the African princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by repreſenting Muley-Haſcen as an infamous apoſtate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vaſſal of a Chriſtian prince, but to conſpire with him to extirpate the Mahometan faith, he inflamed thoſe ignorant and bigotted chiefs to ſuch a degree, that they took arms as in a common cauſe. Twenty thouſand horſe, together with a vaſt body of foot, ſoon aſſembled at Tunis; and Barbaroſſa, by a proper diſtribution of preſents among them from time to time, kept the ardour which had brought them together from ſubſiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppoſe, to think that theſe light troops would reſiſt the heavy armed cavalry and veteran infantry which compoſed the Imperial army; his chief confidence was in the

ſtrength

ſtrength of the Goletta, and in his body of Turkiſh ſoldiers, who were armed and diſciplined after the European faſhion. Six thouſand of theſe, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the braveſt and moſt experienced of all his Corſairs, he threw into that fort, which the Emperor immediately inveſted. As Charles had the command of the ſea, his camp was ſo plentifully ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley-Haſcen, who had not been accuſtomed to ſee war carried on with ſuch order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops, animated by his preſence, and conſidering it as meritorious to ſhed their blood in ſuch a pious cauſe, contended with each other for the poſts of honour and danger. Three ſeparate attacks were concerted, and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, having one of theſe committed to each of them, puſhed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inſpires. Sinan diſplayed reſolution and ſkill becoming the confidence which his maſter had put in him; the garriſon performed the hard ſervice on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies; though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incurſions; the breaches ſoon became ſo conſiderable towards the land, while the fleet battered the fortifications which it could approach, with no leſs fury and ſucceſs, that an aſſault being given on all ſides at once, the place was taken by ſtorm; Sinan, with the remains of his garriſon, retiring, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, over a ſhallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became maſter of Barbaroſſa's fleet, conſiſting of eighty-ſeven gallies and galliots, together with his arſenal, and three hundred cannon moſtly braſs, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the ſtrength of the fort, as well as of the greatneſs of the Corſair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta thro' the

the trench, and turning to Muley-Haſcen who attended him, "Here, ſays he, is a gate open to you, by "which you ſhall return to take poſſeſſion of your "dominions."

Barbaroſſa, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, loſe courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thouſand men, towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the iſſue of a battle. This reſolution he communicated to his principal officers, and repreſenting to them the fatal conſequences which might follow, if ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, whom he had ſhut up in the citadel, ſhould attempt to mutiny during the abſence of the army, he propoſed as a neceſſary precaution for the public ſecurity, to maſſacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured, as they were in their piratical depredations, to ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty, the barbarity of his propoſal concerning the ſlaves filled them with horror; and Barbaroſſa, rather from the dread of irritating them, than ſwayed by motives of humanity, conſented to ſpare the lives of the ſlaves.

By this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops ſuffered inconceivable hardſhips in their march over burning ſands, deſtitute of water, and expoſed to the intolerable heat of the ſun, they ſoon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vaſt ſuperiority in number, immediately ruſhed on to the attack with loud ſhouts; but their undiſciplined courage did not ſtand one moment the ſhock of regular battalions; and though Barbaroſſa, with admirable preſence of mind, and by expoſing his own perſon to the greateſt dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became

ſo

ſo general, that he himſelf was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion; ſome of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others ready to ſet open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkiſh ſoldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which, in ſuch circumſtances, might have afforded him ſome refuge, already in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtian captives. Theſe unhappy men, rendered deſperate by their ſituation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbaroſſa dreaded. As ſoon as his army was at ſome diſtance from the town, they gained two of their keepers, by whoſe aſſiſtance, knocking off their fetters, and burſting open their priſons, they overpowered the Turkiſh garriſon, and turned the artillery of the fort againſt their former maſters. Barbaroſſa, diſappointed and enraged, exclaiming ſometimes againſt the falſe compaſſion of his officers, and ſometimes condemning his own imprudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

Mean while Charles, ſatisfied with the eaſy and almoſt bloodleſs victory which he had gained, and advancing ſlowly with the precaution neceſſary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at laſt a meſſenger diſpatched by the ſlaves acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their noble effort for the recovery of their liberty; and at the ſame time deputies arrived from the town, in order to preſent him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper meaſures for this purpoſe, the ſoldiers fearing that they would be deprived of the booty which they expected, broke ſuddenly, and without orders into the town, and began to kill and plunder without diſtinction. It was then too late to reſtrain their cruelty, their avarice, or licentiouſneſs. All the outrages of which ſoldiers are capable in the fury of a ſtorm, all the exceſſes of which men can be guilty when their paſſions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners

ners and religion inſpire, were committed. Above thirty thouſand of the innocent inhabitants periſhed on that unhappy day, and ten thouſand were carried away as ſlaves. Muley-Haſcen took poſſeſſion of a throne ſurrounded with carnage, abhorred by his ſubjects on whom he had brought ſuch calamities, and pitied even by thoſe whoſe raſhneſs had been the occaſion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had ſtained the luſtre of his victory; and amidſt ſuch a ſcene of horror there was but one ſpectacle that afforded him any ſatisfaction. Ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and bleſſed him as their deliverer.

At the ſame time that Charles accompliſhed his promiſe to the Mooriſh king of re-eſtabliſhing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was neceſſary for bridling the power of the African Corſairs, for the ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and for the intereſt of the Spaniſh crown: in order to gain theſe ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen on the following conditions: That he ſhould hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do homage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that all the Chriſtian ſlaves now within his dominions, of whatever nation, ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; that no ſubject of the Emperor's ſhould for the future be detained in ſervitude; that no Turkiſh corſair ſhould be admitted into the ports of his dominions; that free trade, together with the public exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, ſhould be allowed to all the Emperor's ſubjects; that the Emperor ſhould not only retain the Goletta, but all the other ſea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified ſhould be put into his hands; that Muley-Haſcen ſhould pay annually twelve thouſand crowns for the ſubſiſtence of the Spaniſh garriſon in the Goletta; that he ſhould enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies, and ſhould preſent to him every year, as an acknowledgement of his vaſſalage, ſix Mooriſh horſes,

horſes, and as many hawks. Having thus ſettled the affairs of Africa; chaſtiſed the inſolence of the Corſairs; ſecured a ſafe retreat for the ſhips of his ſubjects, and a proper ſtation for his own fleet, on that coaſt from which he was moſt infeſted by piratical depredation; Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempeſtuous weather, and ſickneſs among his troops, not permitting him to purſue Barbaroſſa.

By this expedition, the merit of which ſeems to have been eſtimated in that age, rather by the apparent generoſity of the undertaking, the magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and the ſucceſs which crowned it, than by the importance of the conſequences that attended it, the Emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thouſand ſlaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms, or by his treaty with Muley-Haſcen, each of whom he cloathed and furniſhed with the means of returning to their reſpective countries, ſpread all over Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration. In compariſon with him, the other monarchs of Europe made an inconſiderable figure; he, as the chief prince in Chriſtendom, appeared to be concerned for the honour of the Chriſtian name, for the public ſecurity and welfare, while they were attentive only to their private and particular intereſts.

The Revolt of ANDREW DORIA *from the* French; *and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Liberty in* Genoa *.

SEVERAL unexpected events retarded and diſcouraged the progreſs of the French in the ſiege of Naples; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their meaſures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republic, and trained up from his infancy in the ſea-ſervice, retained the ſpirit of independance natural to the former, and the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A perfect ſtranger to the arts of ſubmiſſion or flattery neceſſary in courts, and conſcious at the ſame time of his own merit and importance, he always offered his advice with freedom, and often preferred his complaints and remonſtrances with boldneſs. The French miniſters, unaccuſtomed to ſuch liberties, determined to ruin a man who treated them with ſo little deference; and though Francis himſelf had a juſt ſenſe of Doria's ſervices as well as an high eſteem for his character, the courtiers, by continually repreſenting him as a man haughty, intractable, and more ſolicitous to aggrandize himſelf, than to promote the intereſt of France, gradually undermined the foundations of his credit, and filled the king's mind with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. From thence proceeded ſeveral affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid; his advice even in naval affairs was often ſlighted; an attempt was made to ſeize the priſoners taken by his nephew in the ſea-fight off Naples; all which he bore with abundance of ill humour. But an injury offered to his country, tranſported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and removing thither ſome branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly ſhewed that they intended to render that town, long the object of jealouſy and

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. 4to. vol. ii. p. 307—312.

and hatred to the Genoeſe, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour of his country, remonſtrated againſt this in the higheſt tone, not without threats, if the meaſure were not inſtantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and placed in the moſt odious light, irritated Francis to ſuch a degree, that he commanded Barbeſieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to ſail directly to Genoa with the French fleet, to arreſt Doria, and to ſeize his gallies. This raſh order, of which the moſt profound ſecrecy alone could have ſecured the execution, was concealed with ſo little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his gallies to a place of ſafety. Guaſto*, his priſoner, who had long obſerved and fomented his growing diſcontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promiſes to enter into the Emperor's ſervice, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and reſentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to diſpatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and demands. The negociation was not long; Charles, fully ſenſible of the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria ſent back his commiſſion, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoiſting the Imperial colours, ſailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city, as he had been formerly engaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance.

His arrival opened the communication with the ſea, and reſtored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity; and the French having loſt their ſuperiority at ſea, were ſoon reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions. The prince of Orange, who ſucceeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army, ſhewed himſelf by his prudent conduct worthy of

* The Marquis del Guaſto, an officer of rank in the Spaniſh ſervice, had been taken priſoner by Doria in a ſea engagement.

of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by his troops, who, remembering the proſperity they had enjoyed under his command, ſerved him with the utmoſt alacrity, he let ſlip no opportunity of harraſſing the enemy, and by continual alarms and ſallies, fatigued and weakened them. As an addition to all theſe misfortunes, the diſeaſes common in that country during the ſultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The priſoners communicated to them the peſtilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with ſuch violence, that few, either officers or ſoldiers, eſcaped the infection. Of the whole army, not four thouſand men, a number ſcarce ſufficient to defend the camp, were capable of doing duty; and being now beſieged in their turn, they ſuffered all the miſeries from which the Imperialiſts were delivered. Lautrec*, after ſtruggling long with ſo many diſappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind, at the ſame time that the peſtilence waſted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his ſovereign, and the infidelity of his allies, to which ſo many brave men had fallen victims. By his death, and the indiſpoſition of the other generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer altogether unequal to ſuch a truſt. He with troops no leſs diſpirited than reduced, retreated in diſorder to Averſa; which town being inveſted by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the neceſſity of conſenting, that he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, that his troops ſhould lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation, the wretched remains of the French army were ſaved; and the Emperor, by his own perſeverance and the good conduct of his generals, acquired once more the ſuperiority in Italy.

The

* The commander of the French troops.

The loſs of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners, was Doria's higheſt ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the ſervice of France, and enter into that of the Emperor. A moſt favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterprize now preſented itſelf. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the peſtilence, was almoſt deſerted by its inhabitants; the French garriſon being neither regularly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconſiderable number; Doria's emiſſaries found that ſuch of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to ſecond all his meaſures. Things wearing this promiſing aſpect, he ſailed towards the coaſt of Genoa; on his approach the French gallies retired; a ſmall body of men which he landed ſurprized one of the gates of Genoa in the night time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garriſon, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and Doria took poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed or reſiſtance. Want of proviſions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to aboliſh ſuch an odious monument of their ſervitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground.

It was now in Doria's power to have rendered himſelf the ſovereign of his country, which he had ſo happily freed from oppreſſion. The fame of his former actions, the ſucceſs of his preſent attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the ſupport of the Emperor; all conſpired to facilitate his attaining the ſupreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he ſacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf to the virtuous ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing liberty in his country, the higheſt object at which ambition can aim. Having aſſembled the whole body of the people in the court before

before his palace, he aſſured them that the happineſs of ſeeing them once more in the poſſeſſion of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his ſervices; that more delighted with the name of citizen than of ſovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them, the right of ſettling what form of government they would now chuſe to be eſtabliſhed amongſt them. The people liſtened to him with tears of admiration and of joy. Twelve perſons were elected to new-model the conſtitution of the republic. The influence of Doria's virtue and example, communicated itſelf to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the ſtate, ſeemed to be forgotten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the ſame form of government which hath ſubſiſted with little variations ſince that time in Genoa, was eſtabliſhed with univerſal applauſe. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, reſpected, and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his profeſſions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preſerved a great aſcendant over the councils of the republic, which owed its being to his generoſity. The authority he poſſeſſed was more flattering, as well as more ſatisfactory than that derived from ſovereignty; a dominion founded on love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is ſtill reverenced by the Genoeſe, and he is diſtinguiſhed in their public monuments, and celebrated in the works of their hiſtorians, by the moſt honourable of all appellations, "The father of his country, and the reſtorer of its liberty."

FIESCO's *Conſpiracy to overturn the Government of* GENOA *.

THE form of government which had been eſtabliſhed in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria reſtored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former diſſenſions, and received at firſt with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give univerſal ſatisfaction to theſe turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire adminiſtration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many envying them that pre-eminence, wiſhed for the reſtitution of a popular government, to which they had been accuſtomed; and though all reverenced the diſintereſted virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that aſcendant which he had acquired in all the councils of the common-wealth. His age however, his moderation, and love of liberty, afforded ample ſecurity to his countrymen, that he would not abuſe his power, nor ſtain the cloſe of his days by attempting to overturn that fabric, which it had been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But that authority and influence, which in his hands were innocent, they eaſily ſaw would prove deſtructive, if uſurped by any citizen of greater ambition, or leſs virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed ſuch pretenſions, and with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. Giannetino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew deſtined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewiſe at being his ſucceſſor in power. His temper, haughty, inſolent and overbearing to ſuch a degree, as would ſcarce have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether inſupportable in the citizen

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. 4to. vol. iii. p. 113—125.

citizen of a free ſtate; and the more ſagacious among the Genoeſe already feared and hated him as the enemy of thoſe liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himſelf, blinded by that violent and undiſcerning affection which perſons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, ſet no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; ſeeming leſs ſollicitous to ſecure and perpetuate the freedom of the common-wealth, than to aggrandize that undeſerving kinſman.

But whatever ſuſpicion of Doria's deſigns, or whatever diſſatisfaction with the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the common-wealth, theſe circumſtances might have occaſioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fieſco, count of Lavagna, obſerving this growing diſguſt, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldeſt actions recorded in hiſtory. That young nobleman, the richeſt and moſt illuſtrious ſubject in the republic, poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command reſpect, or ſecure attachment. He was graceful and majeſtic in his perſon; magnificent to profuſion; of a generoſity that prevented the wiſhes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of ſtrangers; of an inſinuating addreſs; gentle manners, and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of theſe virtues, which ſeemed to form him for enjoying and adorning civil life, he concealed all the diſpoſitions which mark men out for taking the lead in the moſt dangerous and dark conſpiracies; an inſatiable and reſtleſs ambition; a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that diſdained ſubordination; ſuch a temper could ill brook that ſtation of inferiority, wherein he was placed in the republic; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its deſcending like an hereditary poſſeſſion, to Giannetino. Theſe various paſſions, preying with violence on his turbulent and aſpiring mind, determined him

to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not ſubmit.

At firſt, he thought of an alliance with Francis, and even propoſed it to the French ambaſſador at Rome, as the moſt effectual means of accompliſhing this; and after expelling Doria, together with the imperial faction by his aſſiſtance, he reſolved to put the republic once more under the protection of that monarch, hoping in return for that ſervice, to be entruſted with the principal ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. But having communicated his ſcheme to a few choſen confidents from whom he kept nothing ſecret; Verrina, the chief of them, a man of deſperate fortune, capable alike of adviſing and of executing the moſt audacious deeds, remonſtrated with earneſtneſs againſt the folly of expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his ſucceſs; and exhorted him warmly to aim himſelf at that preeminence in his country, to which he was deſtined by his illuſtrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raiſed by the zeal of his friends. This diſcourſe opened ſuch vaſt proſpects to Fieſco, and ſo ſuitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other perſons preſent, though ſenſible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not chuſe to condemn what their patron had ſo warmly approved. It was inſtantly reſolved in this dark cabal, to aſſaſſinate the two Dorias, as well as the principal perſons of their party, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, and to place Fieſco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time however, and preparations were requiſite to ripen ſuch a deſign for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on theſe, Fieſco made it his chief care to guard againſt every thing that might betray his ſecret, or create ſuſpicion. The diſguiſe he aſſumed was of all others the moſt impenetrable. He ſeemed to be abandoned entirely to pleaſure and diſſipation. A perpetual gaiety, diverſified by the purſuit of all the amuſements becoming his age and rank, engroſſed,

groſſed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidſt this hurry of diſſipation, he proſecuted his plan with the moſt cool attention, neither retarding the deſign by a timid heſitation, nor precipitating the execution by an exceſs of impatience. He continued his correſpondence with the French ambaſſador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might ſecure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he ſhould find it neceſſary to call them to his aid. He entered into a cloſe confederacy with Farneſe, duke of Parma, who being diſguſted with the Emperor for refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any meaſure that tended to diminiſh his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family ſo implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being ſenſible that in a maritime ſtate, the acquiſition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchaſed four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the deſign which he had formed, and did not diſapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of theſe gallies to ſail on a cruize againſt the Turks; he not only aſſembled a good number of his own vaſſals, but engaged in his ſervice many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their uſual occupation and ſubſiſtance.

While Fieſco was taking theſe important ſteps, he preſerved ſo admirably his uſual appearance of being devoted entirely to pleaſure and amuſement, and paid court, with ſuch artful addreſs, to the two Dorias, as impoſed not only on the generous and unſuſpicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who conſcious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to diſtruſt the deſigns of others. So many inſtruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to ſtrike the blow. Various conſultations were held by Fieſco with his confidents, in order to ſettle the manner of doing it with the greateſt certainty and effect. At firſt, they propoſed to murder the Dorias and their

chief adherents, during the celebration of high maſs in the principal church; but as Andrew was often abſent from theſe religious ſolemnities, on account of his great age, that deſign was laid aſide. It was then concerted that Fieſco ſhould invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom he had marked out as victims, to his houſe; where it would be eaſy to cut them off at once without danger or reſiſtance; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had choſen, it became neceſſary likewiſe to alter this plan. They at laſt determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by ſtratagem; and fixed on the night between the ſecond and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was choſen with great propriety; for as the Doge for the former year was to quit his office, according to cuſtom, on the firſt of the month, and his ſucceſſor could not be elected ſooner than the fourth, the republic remained during that interval in a ſort of anarchy, and Fieſco might, with leſs violence, take poſſeſſion of the vacant dignity.

The morning of that day Fieſco employed in viſiting his friends, paſſing ſome hours amongſt them with a ſpirit as gay and unembarraſſed, as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court to the Dorias with his uſual marks of reſpect, and ſurveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his ſituation, was happy to obſerve the perfect ſecurity in which they remained, without the leaſt foreſight or dread of that ſtorm which had been ſo long a gathering, and was now ready to burſt over their heads. From their palace he haſtened to his own, which ſtood by itſelf in the middle of a large court ſurrounded by a high wall. The gates had been ſet open in the morning, and all perſons, without diſtinction, were allowed to enter; but ſtrong guards poſted within the court, ſuffered no one to return. Verrina meanwhile, and a few perſons truſted with the ſecret of the conſpiracy, after conducting Fieſco's vaſſals, as well as the crews of his gallies, into the palace in ſmall bodies, with as little

little noiſe as poſſible, diſperſed themſelves through the city, and in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment, the principal citizens whom they knew to be diſguſted with the adminiſtration of the Dorias, and to have both inclination and courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vaſt number of perſons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpoſe they were aſſembled; the reſt, aſtoniſhed at finding, inſtead of the preparations for a feaſt, a court crouded with armed men, and apartments filled with the inſtruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of impatience, curioſity, and terror.

While their minds were in this ſtate of ſuſpence and agitation, Fieſco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence, he addreſſed himſelf to the perſons of chief diſtinction, telling them, that they were not now called to partake of the pleaſure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty, and immortal renown. He ſet before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannetino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination, continued he, you have it now in your power to ſubvert, and to eſtabliſh the freedom of your country on a firm baſis. The tyrants muſt be cut off. I have taken the moſt effectual meaſures for this purpoſe. My aſſociates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if neceſſary. Happily the tyrants are as ſecure as I have been provident. Their inſolent contempt of their countrymen, has baniſhed the ſuſpicion and timidity, which uſually render the guilty quick-ſighted to diſcern, as well as ſagacious to guard againſt the vengeance which they deſerve. They will now feel the blow, before they ſuſpect any hoſtile hand to be nigh. Let us then ſally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almoſt unaccompanied with danger, and certain of ſucceſs. Theſe words, uttered with that irreſiſtible

ſervour which animates the mind when rouzed by great objects, made the deſired impreſſion on the audience. Fieſco's vaſſals, ready to execute whatever their maſter ſhould command, received his diſcourſe with a murmur of applauſe. To many whoſe fortunes were deſperate, the licence and confuſion of an inſurrection, afforded an agreeable proſpect. Thoſe of higher rank and more virtuous ſentiments, durſt not diſcover the ſurpriſe or horror with which they were ſtruck at the propoſal of an enterprize ſo unexpected and atrocious; as each imagined the other to be in the ſecret of the conſpiracy, and ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by perſons who waited only a ſignal from their leader to perpetrate the greateſt crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud, the undertaking.

Having thus fixed and encouraged his aſſociates, before he gave them his laſt orders, he haſtened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble houſe of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whoſe beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noiſe of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, ſhe concluded ſome hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and ſhe trembled for her huſband. He found her in all the anguiſh of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impoſſible to keep his deſign concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The proſpect of a ſcene ſo full of horror as well as danger, compleated her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal iſſue of it, ſhe endeavoured, by her tears, her entreaties, and her deſpair, to divert him from his purpoſe. Fieſco, after trying in vain to ſooth and inſpire her with hope, broke from a ſituation into which an exceſs of tenderneſs had unwarily ſeduced him, though it could not ſhake his reſolution. "Farewel, he cried, as he quitted the apartment; you "ſhall either never ſee me more, or you ſhall behold "to-morrow every thing in Genoa ſubject to your "power."

As

As ſoon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper ſtation; ſome were appointed to aſſault and ſeize the different gates of the city; ſome to make themſelves maſters of the principal ſtreets or places of ſtrength. Fieſco reſerved for himſelf the attack of the harbour where Doria's gallies were laid up, as the poſt of chief importance, and of greateſt danger. It was now mid-night, and the citizens ſlept in the ſecurity of peace, when this band of conſpirators, numerous, deſperate, and well armed, ruſhed out to execute their plan. They ſurprized, without reſiſtance, ſome of the gates. They got poſſeſſion of others, after a ſharp conflict with the ſoldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out againſt the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darſena or little harbour, where Doria's fleet lay. All poſſibility of eſcape being by this precaution cut off, when Fieſco attempted to enter the gallies from the ſhore to which they were made faſt, as they were unrigged and diſarmed, having no crew on board but the ſlaves chained to the oar, they were in no condition to make reſiſtance. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noiſe and tumult, all the ſtreets reſounding with the cry of Fieſco and Liberty. At that name, ſo popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conſpirators. The nobles and partizans of the ariſtocracy, aſtoniſhed or affrighted, ſhut the gates of their houſes, and thought of nothing but ſecuring them from pillage. At laſt the noiſe excited by this ſcene of violence and confuſion, reached the palace of Doria; Giannetino ſtarted immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occaſioned by ſome mutiny among the ſailors, ruſhed out with a few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to paſs, was already in the poſſeſſion of the conſpirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmoſt fury, and murdered him on the ſpot. The ſame muſt have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fieſco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his

palace; but he, from the ſordid conſideration of preventing its being plundered amidſt the confuſion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horſeback, ſaved himſelf by flight. Meanwhile, a few ſenators had the courage to aſſemble in the palace of the republic. At firſt ſome of the moſt daring among them attempted to rally the ſcattered ſoldiers, and to attack a body of the conſpirators; but being repulſed with loſs, all agreed that nothing now remained but to treat with the party which ſeemed to be irreſiſtible. Deputies were accordingly ſent to learn of Fieſco what were the conceſſions with which he would be ſatisfied, or rather to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe.

But by this time Fieſco, with whom they were empowered to negociate, was no more. Juſt as he was going to leave the harbour, where every thing had ſucceeded to his wiſh, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard ſome extraordinary uproar on board the admiral galley. Alarmed at the noiſe, and fearing that the ſlaves might break their chains, and overpower his aſſociates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the ſhore to the veſſel, happening to overturn, he fell into the ſea, whilſt he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he ſunk to the bottom, and periſhed in the very moment when he muſt have taken full poſſeſſion of every thing that his ambitious heart could deſire. Verrina was the firſt who diſcovered this fatal accident, and foreſeeing, at once, all its conſequences, concealed it with the utmoſt induſtry from every one but a few leaders of the conſpiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidſt the darkneſs and confuſion of the night, to have kept it ſecret, until a treaty with the ſenators ſhould have put the city in the power of the conſpirators. All their hopes of this were diſconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fieſco, who, when the deputies of the ſenate enquired for his brother the count of Lavagna, that they

they might make their propoſals to him, replied with a childiſh vanity, "I am now the only perſon to whom "that title belongs, and with me you muſt treat." Theſe words diſcovered both to his friends and enemies what had happened, and made the impreſſion which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occaſion ſuch a ſudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, aſſumed inſtantly, with admirable preſence of mind, a new tone, ſuitable to the change in their circumſtances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the reſt of the ſenators were buſy in aſſembling their partizans, and forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republic. On the other hand, the conſpirators, aſtoniſhed at the death of a man whom they adored and truſted, and placing no confidence on Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing ſecrecy with which the conſpiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto ſo much to its ſucceſs, proved now the chief cauſe of its miſcarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of thoſe who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were ſtrangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no perſon among them whoſe authority or abilities intitled him to aſſume Fieſco's place, or to finiſh his plan; after having loſt the ſpirit which animated it, life and activity deſerted the whole body. Many of the conſpirators withdrew to their houſes, hoping that amidſt the darkneſs of the night they had paſſed unobſerved, and might remain unknown. Others ſought for ſafety by a timely retreat, and, before break of day, all of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as maſters.

Next morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be ſeen, few marks of violence of the former night appeared, the conſpirators having conducted their enterprize with more noiſe than bloodſhed,

and gained all their advantages by ſurpriſe, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the diſgrace as well as danger of the preceding night were freſh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinſman ſtill before his eyes, ſuch was his moderation and magnanimity, that the decree iſſued by the ſenate, againſt the conſpirators, did not exceed that juſt meaſure of ſeverity which was requiſite for the ſupport of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of reſentment, nor the rancour of revenge.

The Death of SENECA*.

WHEN Seneca was apprized of his fatal doom, he was nowiſe diſmayed, but calmly called for his will; and as this was prohibited by the centurion, who delivered the ſad meſſage, turning to his friends, he told them, "That ſince he was diſabled from a "grateful requital of their benefits, he bequeathed "them that which alone was now left him, yet ſome-"thing more glorious and amiable than all the reſt, "the pattern of his life; if they retained the impreſ-"ſions and reſemblance of this, they would thence reap "the applauſe of virtuous manners; as well as that "of perſevering in their friendſhip." He withal repreſſed their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſometimes in the ſtile of authority and correction, and ſtrove to recover them to reſolution and conſtancy. "Where, he often aſked, where were now all the "documents of philoſophy? where, that philoſophical "principle, for ſo many years premeditated, againſt "the ſudden encounter of calamities? For, to whom "was unknown the bloody nature of Nero? Nor, "after

* Tacit. Ann. b. 15. Gordon, 3d edit. vol. ii. p. 248.

" after the butchering of his mother, and the murder-
" ing of his brother, did aught remain to conſummate
" his cruelty, but to add to theirs the ſlaughter of his
" nurſing father and inſtructor."

Having uttered theſe and the like reaſonings, directed to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object, which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſoftened him into anxiety for her future lot: he preſſed and beſought her to moderate her ſorrow, to beware of perpetuating ſuch a diſmal paſſion; but to bear the death of her huſband " by contemplating his
" life ſpent in a ſteady courſe of virtue, and to ſupport
" his loſs by all worthy conſolations." Paullina, on the contrary, urged her purpoſe to die with him, and called for the aid of a miniſter of death. Upon this declaration, Seneca would not bereave her of ſo much glory; ſuch beſides was his tenderneſs for her, that he was loth to leave one by himſelf beloved above all things, expoſed to inſults and injuries: " I had laid
" before thee, ſaid he, the delights and ſolacements
" of living; thou preferreſt the renown of dying;
" I ſhall not envy thee the honour of the example.
" Between us let us equally ſhare the fortitude of an
" end ſo brave, but greater will be the ſplendor of
" thy particular fall." Preſently after this converſation, both had the veins of their arms opened, at the ſame inſtant. Seneca was aged, his body cold, and extenuated by feeble diet, ſo that the iſſues of his blood were exceeding ſlow; hence he cauſed to be cut the veins alſo of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees. As he was ſuccumbing under many grievous agonies, he perſuaded her to retire into another chamber, leſt his own ſufferings might vanquiſh the reſolution of his wife, or he himſelf, by beholding her pangs, lapſe into weakneſs and impatience; and, his eloquence flowing even to the laſt moment of his life, he called for his ſcribes, and to them dictated many things, which being already publiſhed in his own words, and common, I forbear to rehearſe in any words of mine.

Towards Paullina, Nero bore no perſonal hate, and to avoid feeding the public abhorrence of his cruelty, ordered her death to be prevented. Hence, at the perſuaſion of the ſoldiers, her domeſtic ſlaves and freedmen bound up her arms, and ſtaid the blood; but, whether with her own concurrence, is uncertain. For, as the populace in their cenſure are rather prone to malignancy, there were ſome who believed, "that "while ſhe feared the wrath of Nero as implacable, "ſhe aimed at the applauſe of dying with her huſband; "but, as ſoon as gentler hopes occurred, ſhe became "vanquiſhed with the ſweetneſs and allurements of "life:" to which it is certain, ſhe added but a ſmall portion of years, ever retaining for the memory of her huſband, a reverence worthy of all praiſe; her face too, and all her limbs, were ſtill covered with ſuch deadly paleneſs, that it was notorious the principles of life had been in a great meaſure exhauſted. Seneca, the while, afflicted with the tedious protraction of life, and the ſlow advances of death, beſought Statius Annœus, one long proved by him for faith in friendſhip and ſkill in medicine, to bring him a draught of the poiſon, which a great while ago he had laid up in ſtore; the ſame ſort that is uſed at Athens, to diſpatch ſuch as are by the public judgment condemned. This he ſwallowed, but in vain; for already all his limbs were chilled, all his juices ſtagnated, and impenetrable to the rapidity of poiſon. He therefore had recourſe to a hot bath, from whence he beſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves that ſtood neareſt, adding, that "of this liquor "he made libation to Jupiter the Deliverer." From thence he was conveyed into a ſtove, and ſuffocated with the ſteam. His corps was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity; for thus in his will he had enjoined; even then when, in the plenitude of his opulence and authority, he had provided for his deceaſe and obſequies.

The Continence of SCIPIO AFRICANUS *.

THE ſoldiers, after the taking of new Carthage, brought before Scipio a young lady of ſuch diſtinguiſhed beauty, that ſhe attracted the eyes of all wherever ſhe went. Scipio, by enquiring concerning her country and parents, among other things learned, that ſhe was betrothed to Allucius, prince of the Celtiberians. He immediately ordered her parents and bridegroom to be ſent for. In the mean time he was informed, that the young prince was ſo exceſſively enamour'd of his bride, that he could not ſurvive the loſs of her. For this reaſon, as ſoon as he appeared, and before he ſpoke to her parents, he took great care to talk with him. "As you and I are both young, "ſaid he, we can converſe together with greater free-"dom. When your bride, who had fallen into the "hands of my ſoldiers, was brought to me, I was "informed that you loved her paſſionately; and in "truth, her perfect beauty left me no room to doubt "of it. If I were at liberty to indulge a youthful "paſſion, I mean in honourable and lawful wedlock, "and were not ſolely engroſſed by the affairs of my "republic, I might have hoped to have been pardoned "my exceſſive love for ſo charming a miſtreſs. But as "I am ſituated, and have it in my power, with plea-"ſure I promote your happineſs. Your future ſpouſe "has met with as civil and modeſt treatment from me, "as if ſhe had been amongſt her own parents, who "are ſoon to be yours too. I have kept her pure, in "order to have it in my power to make you a pre-"ſent worthy of you and of me. The only return I aſk "of you for this favour, is, that you will be a friend "to the Roman people; and that if you believe me "to be a man of worth, as the ſtates of Spain formerly "experienced

* Livy's Rom. Hiſt. Eng. tranſ. vol. iv. p. 430—431.

" experienced my father and uncle to be, you may " know there are many in Rome who reſemble us; " and that there are not a people in the univerſe, " whom you ought leſs to deſire to be an enemy, or " more a friend to you or yours." The youth covered with bluſhes, and full of joy, embraced Scipio's hands, praying the immortal Gods to reward him, as he himſelf was not capable to do it in the degree he himſelf deſired, or he deſerved. Then the parents and relations of the virgin were called. They had brought a great ſum of money to ranſom her. But ſeeing her reſtored to them without it, they began to beg Scipio to accept that ſum as a preſent; proteſting they would acknowledge it as a favour, as much as they did the reſtoring the virgin without injury offered to her. Scipio, unable to reſiſt their importunate ſolicitations, told them, he accepted it, and ordering it to be laid at his feet, thus addreſſed Allucius: " To the portion you " are to receive from your father-in-law, I add this, " and beg you would accept it as a nuptial preſent." So he deſired him to take up the gold, and keep it for himſelf. Tranſported with joy at the preſents and honours conferred on him; he returned home, and expatiated to his countrymen on the merits of Scipio. " There is come amongſt us, ſaid he, a young hero " like the Gods, who conquers all things, as well by " generoſity and beneficence, as by arms." For this reaſon, having raiſed troops among his own ſubjects, he returned a few days after to Scipio, with a body of 1400 horſe.

The private Life of ÆMILIUS SCIPIO *.

THE taking of Numantia, which terminated a war that diſgraced the Roman name, completed Scipio's military exploits. But, in order to have a more perfect idea of his merit and character; it ſeems that, after having ſeen him at the head of armies, in the tumult of battles, and in the pomp of triumphs, it will not be loſt labour to conſider him in the repoſe of a private life, in the midſt of his friends, family, and houſhold. The truly great man ought to be ſo in all things. The magiſtrate, general, and prince, may conſtrain themſelves, whilſt they are in a manner exhibiting themſelves as ſpectacles to the public, and appear quite different from what they really are. But reduced to themſelves, and without the witneſſes who force them to wear the maſk; all their luſtre, like the pomp of the theatre, often abandons them, and leaves little more to be ſeen in them, than meanneſs and narrowneſs of mind.

Scipio did not depart from himſelf in any reſpect. He was not like certain paintings that are to be ſeen only at a diſtance: he could not but gain by a nearer view. The excellent education which he had had, through the care of his father Paulus Æmilius, who had provided him with the moſt learned maſters of thoſe times, as well in polite learning as the ſciences; and the inſtructions he had received from Polybius, enabled him to fill up the vacant hours he had from public affairs profitably, and to ſupport the leiſure of a private life, with pleaſure and dignity. This is the glorious teſtimony given of him by an hiſtorian: "No "body knew better how to mingle leiſure and action, "nor to uſe the intervals of reſt from public buſineſs, "with more elegance and taſte. Divided between "arms

* The ſecond Africanus, Rollin's Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 54—60.

" arms and books, between the military labours of " the camp, and the peaceful occupations of the " cloſet; he either exerciſed his body in the dangers " and fatigues of war, or his mind in the ſtudy of " the ſciences." *

The firſt Scipio Africanus uſed to ſay, That he was never leſs idle, than when at leiſure, nor leſs alone, than when alone. A fine ſaying, cries Cicero, and well worthy of that great man. And it ſhews that, even when inactive, he was always employed; and that when alone, he knew how to converſe with himſelf. A very extraordinary diſpoſition in perſons accuſtomed to motion and agitation, whom leiſure and ſolitude, when they are reduced to them, plunge into a diſguſt for every thing, and fill with melancholy; ſo that they are diſpleaſed in every thing with themſelves, and ſink under the heavy burthen of having nothing to do. This ſaying of the firſt Scipio, ſeems to me to ſuit the ſecond ſtill better, who having the advantage of the other by being educated in a taſte for polite learning and the ſciences, found in that, a great reſource againſt the inconvenience of which we have been ſpeaking. Beſides which, having uſually Polybius and Panætius with him, even in the field, it is eaſy to judge that his houſe was open, in times of peace, to all the learned. Every body knows, that the comedies of Terence, the moſt accompliſhed work of that kind Rome ever produced, for natural elegance and beauties, are aſcribed to him and Lælius, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak. It was publicly enough reported, that they aſſiſted that poet in the compoſition of his pieces; and Terence himſelf makes it an honour to him in the prologue to the Adelphi. I ſhall undoubtedly not adviſe any body, and leaſt of all, perſons of Scipio's rank, to write comedies. But on this occaſion, let us only conſider taſte in general for letters. Is there a more ingenuous, a more affecting pleaſure,

* Velleius Paterculus.

pleaſure, and one more worthy of a wiſe and virtuous man, I might perhaps add, or one more neceſſary to a military perſon, than that which reſults from reading works of wit, and from the converſation of the learned? Providence thought fit, according to the obſervation of a Pagan, that he ſhould be above thoſe trivial pleaſures, to which perſons without letters, knowledge, curioſity, and taſte for reading, are obliged to give themſelves up.

Another kind of pleaſure, ſtill more ſenſible, more warm, more natural, and more implanted in the heart of man, conſtituted the greateſt felicity of Scipio's life: this was that of friendſhip, a pleaſure ſeldom known by great perſons or princes; becauſe, generally loving only themſelves, they do not deſerve to have friends. However, this is the moſt grateful tie of human ſociety; ſo that the poet Ennius ſays with great reaſon, that to live without friends, is not to live. Scipio had undoubtedly a great number of them, and thoſe very illuſtrious: but I ſhall ſpeak here only of Lælius, whoſe probity and prudence acquired him the ſurname of the Wiſe.

Never, perhaps, were two friends better ſuited for each other than thoſe great men. They were almoſt of the ſame age, and had the ſame inclination, benevolence of mind, taſte for learning of all kinds, principles of government, and zeal for the public good. Scipio, no doubt, took place in point of military glory; but Lælius did not want merit of that kind; and Cicero tells us, that he ſignalized himſelf very much in the war with Viriathus. As to the talents of the mind, the ſuperiority, in reſpect of eloquence, ſeems to have been given to Lælius; though Cicero does not agree that it was due to him, and ſays that Lælius's ſtile ſavoured more of the ancient manner, and had ſomething leſs agreeable in it than that of Scipio.

Let us hear Lælius himſelf (that is, the words Cicero puts into his mouth) upon the ſtrict union which ſubſiſted between Scipio and him. "As for me, ſays

"Lælius,

" Lælius, of all the gifts of nature or fortune, there " are none I think comparable to the happineſs of " having Scipio for my friend. I found in our friend- " ſhip, a perfect conformity of ſentiments in reſpect " to public affairs; an inexhauſtible fund of counſels " and ſupports in private life; with a tranquillity and " delight not to be expreſſed. I never gave Scipio " the leaſt offence, to my knowledge, nor ever heard " a word eſcape him that did not pleaſe me. We had " but one houſe, and one table at our common ex- " pence, the frugality of which was equally the taſte " of both. In war, in travelling, in the country, we " were always together. I do not mention our ſtudies, " and the attention of us both always to learn ſome- " thing; this was the employment of all our leiſure " hours, removed from the ſight and commerce of the " world."

Is there any thing comparable to a friendſhip like that which Lælius has juſt deſcribed? What a conſolation is it to have a ſecond ſelf, to whom we have nothing ſecret, and into whoſe heart we may pour out our own with perfect effuſion! Could we taſte proſperity ſo ſenſibly, if we had no one to ſhare in our joy with us? And what a relief is it in adverſity, and the accidents of life, to have a friend ſtill more affected with them than ourſelves? What highly exalts the value of the friendſhip we ſpeak of, was its not being founded at all upon intereſt, but ſolely upon eſteem for each other's virtues. " What occaſion, ſays Læ- " lius, could Scipio have of me? Undoubtedly none; " nor I of him. But my attachment to him, was the " effect of my high eſteem and admiration of his vir- " tues; and his to me, aroſe from the favourable idea " he had of my character and manners. This friendſhip " increaſed afterwards upon both ſides, by habit and " commerce. We both indeed derived great advan- " tages from it: but thoſe were not our view, when " we began to love each other."

I cannot place the famous embaſſy of Scipio Africanus into the eaſt and Egypt better than here: we ſhall

ſee

ſee the ſame taſte of ſimplicity and modeſty, as we have juſt been repreſenting in his private life, ſhine out in it. It was a maxim with the Romans frequently to ſend ambaſſadors to their allies, to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view that three illuſtrious perſons, P. Scipio Africanus, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus were ſent into Egypt, where Ptolemy Phyſcon then reigned; the moſt cruel tyrant mentioned in hiſtory. They had orders to go from thence to Syria, which the indolence, and afterwards the captivity of Demetrius Nicator amongſt the Parthians, made a prey to troubles, factions, and revolts. They were next to viſit Aſia Minor, and Greece, to inſpect into the affairs of thoſe countries, to enquire in what manner the treaties made with the Romans were obſerved, and to remedy, as far as poſſible, all the diſorders that ſhould come to their knowledge. They acquitted themſelves with ſo much equity, wiſdom, and ability, and did ſuch great ſervices to thoſe to whom they were ſent, in re-eſtabliſhing order amongſt them, and in accommodating their differences, that, when they returned to Rome, ambaſſadors arrived there from all the parts in which they had been, to thank the ſenate for having ſent perſons of ſuch great merit to them, whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs they could not ſufficiently commend.

The firſt place to which they went, according to their inſtructions, was Alexandria. The King received them with great magnificence. As for them, they affected it ſo little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the richeſt and moſt powerful perſon of Rome, had only one friend, the philoſopher Panætius, with him, and five domeſtics. His victories, ſays an ancient writer, and not his attendants, were conſidered; and his perſonal virtues and qualities were eſteemed in him, and not the glitter of gold and ſilver.

Though, during their whole ſtay in Egypt, the king cauſed their table to be covered with the moſt exquiſite proviſions of every kind, they never touched any

any but the moſt ſimple and common, deſpiſing all the reſt, which only ſerve to ſoften the mind and enervate the body. But, on ſuch occaſions, ought not the ambaſſadors of ſo powerful a ſtate as Rome to have ſuſtained its reputation and majeſty in a foreign nation, by appearing in public with a numerous train and magnificent equipages? This was not the taſte of the Romans, that is, of the people of the whole earth, that thought the moſt juſtly of true greatneſs and ſolid glory.

The Hiſtory of MUSTAPHA, *Son of* SOLYMAN *the* Magnificent*.

SOLYMAN, though diſtinguiſhed, by many accompliſhments, from the other Ottoman princes, had all the paſſions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, ſudden and furious in his anger, and ſuſceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the Eaſt, and often produces the wildeſt and moſt tragical effects. His favourite miſtreſs was a Circaſſian ſlave of exquiſite beauty, who bore him a ſon called Muſtapha, whom, both on account of his birth-right and merit, he deſtined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Ruſſian captive, ſoon ſupplanted the Circaſſian, and gained the Sultan's heart. Having the addreſs to retain the conqueſt which ſhe had made, ſhe kept poſſeſſion of his love without any rival for many years, during which ſhe brought him ſeveral ſons and one daughter. All the happineſs, however, which ſhe derived from the unbounded ſway that ſhe had acquired over a monarch whom one half of the world revered and dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Muſtapha's acceſſion to the throne, and the certain death of her ſons, who ſhe foreſaw

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 289—297.

ſaw would be immediately ſacrificed, according to the barbarous jealouſy of Turkiſh policy, to the ſafety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, ſhe came gradually to view Muſtapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a ſtep-mother's ill-will. This prompted her to wiſh his deſtruction; in order to ſecure for one of her own ſons the throne which was deſtined for him. Nor did ſhe want either ambition to attempt ſuch a high enterprize, or the arts requiſite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the Sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Ruſtan the grand-vizir, ſhe diſcloſed her ſcheme to that crafty miniſter, who perceiving that it was his own intereſt to co-operate with her, readily promiſed his aſſiſtance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line, to which he was now ſo nearly allied.

As ſoon as Roxalana had concerted her meaſures with this able confident, ſhe began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was ſuperſtitiouſly attached, and propoſed to found and endow a royal moſque, a work of great expence; but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the higheſt degree. The mufti, whom ſhe conſulted, approved much of her pious intentions; but, having been gained and inſtructed by Ruſtan, told her that ſhe, being a ſlave, could derive no benefit herſelf from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the maſter whoſe property ſhe was. Upon this ſhe ſeemed to be overwhelmed with ſorrow, and to ſink into the deepeſt melancholy, as if ſhe had been diſguſted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was abſent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cauſe from which it proceeded, diſcovered all the ſolicitude of a lover to remove it, and by a writing under his own hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained this point, proceeded to build the moſque, and re-aſſumed her uſual chearfulneſs and gaiety of ſpirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Conſtantinople, ſent an eunuch, accord-

ing

ing to the cuſtom of the ſeraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, ſhe, ſeemingly with deep regret, but in the moſt peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring, that what had been an honour to her while a ſlave, became a crime as ſhe was now a free woman, and that ſhe would not involve either the ſultan or herſelf in the guilt that muſt be contracted by ſuch an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whoſe paſſion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave riſe to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourſe immediately to the mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's ſcruples were well founded; but added artfully, in words which Ruſtan had taught him to uſe, that it was in the ſultan's power to remove theſe difficulties by eſpouſing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and ſolemnly married her according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though by doing ſo he diſregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the ſultans ſince Bajazet I. to conſider as inviolable. From his time, none of the Turkiſh monarchs had married, becauſe when he was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abuſed with barbarous inſolence by the Tartars. That no ſimilar calamity might ſubject the Ottoman family to the like diſgrace, the ſultans admitted none to their bed but ſlaves, whoſe diſhonour could not bring any ſuch ſtain upon their houſe.

But the more uncommon the ſtep was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which ſhe had acquired over the ſultan's heart; and emboldened her to proſecute, with greater hope of ſucceſs, the ſcheme that ſhe had formed in order to deſtroy Muſtapha. This young prince having been entruſted by his father, according to the practice of the ſultans in that age, with the government of ſeveral different provinces, was at that time inveſted with the adminiſtration in Diarbequir, the ancient Meſopotamia, which Solyman had wreſted from the Perſians, and added to his empire.

pire. In all theſe different commands, Muſtapha had conducted himſelf with ſuch cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the ſame time, he governed with ſo much moderation as well as juſtice, and diſplayed ſuch valour and generoſity as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the ſoldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; ſhe turned his virtues againſt him, and made uſe of theſe as engines for his deſtruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's preſence, the ſplendid qualities of his ſon; ſhe celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praiſe. As ſoon as ſhe perceived that the ſultan heard theſe encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneaſineſs; that ſuſpicion of his ſon began to mingle itſelf with his former eſteem of him; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealouſy and fear, ſhe introduced, as by accident, ſome diſcourſe concerning the rebellion of his father Selim againſt Bajazet his grandfather; ſhe took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Muſtapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Perſian Sophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By theſe arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderneſs was entirely extinguiſhed, and ſuch paſſions were kindled in his breaſt as gave all Roxalana's malignant ſuggeſtions the colour, not only of probability, but of truth. A deep-rooted hatred ſucceeded, now, to his ſuſpicions and fear of Muſtapha. He appointed ſpies to obſerve and report all his words and actions; he watched and ſtood on his guard againſt him as his moſt dangerous enemy.

Having thus alienated the ſultan's heart from Muſtapha, Roxalana ventured on another ſtep, and entreated Solyman to allow her own ſons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining acceſs to their father, they might by their good qualities and dutiful deport-

ment, insinuate themselves into that place in his affections which Mustapha had formerly held; and, though what she demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her request. To all these female intrigues, Rustan added an artifice still more subtle, which compleated the sultan's delusion, and heightened his jealousy and fear. He wrote to the bashaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, instructing them to send him regular intelligence of Mustapha's proceedings in his government, and to each he gave a private hint, flowing, in appearance, from his zeal for their interest, that nothing would be more acceptable to the sultan than to receive favourable accounts of a son whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The bashaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their sovereign at such an easy price, filled their letters with studied, but fatal panegyrics of Mustapha, representing him as a prince worthy to succeed such an illustrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal his fame. These letters were industriously shewn to Solyman, at the seasons when it was known that they would make the deepest impression. Every expression in recommendation of his son, wounded him to the heart; he suspected his principal officers of being ready to favour the most desperate attempts of a prince whom they were so fond to praise; and fancying, that he saw them already assaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to secure his own safety by his son's death.

For this purpose, though under pretence of renewing the war against Persia, he ordered Rustan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a son, whose life he deemed inconsistent with his own safety. But that crafty minister did not choose to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As soon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman, that the danger was so

imminent as called for his immediate preſence; that the camp was full of Muſtapha's emiſſaries; that many of the ſoldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had diſcovered a negociation, which had been carried on with the Sophi of Perſia in order to marry Muſtapha with one of his daughters; that he had already felt both his talents and his authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of ſuch an arduous conjuncture; that the ſultan alone had ſagacity to diſcern what reſolution ſhould be taken in thoſe circumſtances, and power to carry that reſolution into execution.

This charge of courting the friendſhip of the Sophi, Roxalana and Ruſtan had reſerved as the laſt and moſt envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Perſians, and threw him into the wildeſt tranſports of rage. He ſet out inſtantly for Syria, and haſtened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As ſoon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted meaſures with Ruſtan, he ſent a chiaus or meſſenger of the court to his ſon, requiring him to repair immediately to his preſence. Muſtapha, though no ſtranger to his ſtep-mother's machinations, or to Ruſtan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his own innocence, and hoping to diſcredit the accuſations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the meſſenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the ſultan's tent. As he entered it, he obſerved nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the ſame order and ſilence which always reign in the ſultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, ſeveral mutes appeared, at the ſight of whom Muſtapha knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes ruſhed forward to ſeize him, he reſiſted and ſtruggled, demanding with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſee the ſultan;

and deſpair, together with the hope of finding protection from the ſoldiers, if he could eſcape out of the tent, animated him with ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his ſon's cries, as well as of the noiſe which the ſtruggle occaſioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and ſtruck with terror at the thoughts of Muſtapha's eſcaping, he drew aſide the curtain which divided the tent, and thruſting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and with wild and threatening geſtures ſeemed to chide them for ſloth and timidity. At ſight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Muſtapha's ſtrength failed, and his courage forſook him; the mutes faſtened the bow-ſtring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was expoſed before the ſultan's tent. The ſoldiers gathered round it, and contemplating that mournful object with aſtoniſhment and ſorrow, and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildeſt exceſſes of rage. After giving vent to the firſt expreſſions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and ſhutting themſelves up, bewailed in ſecret the cruel fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who taſted food or even water during the remainder of the day. Next morning the ſame ſolitude and ſilence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that ſome dreadful ſtorm would follow this ſullen calm, in order to appeaſe the enraged ſoldiers, deprived Ruſtan of the ſeals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raiſed Achmet, a gallant officer, much beloved in the army, to the dignity of vizir. This change, however, was made in concert with Ruſtan himſelf; that crafty miniſter ſuggeſting it as the only expedient which could ſave himſelf or his maſter. But within a few months, when the reſentment of the ſoldiers began to ſubſide, and the name of Muſtapha to be forgotten, Achmet was ſtrangled by the ſultan's command, and Ruſtan reinſtated in the office of vizir. Together with his former power, he reaſſumed the plan for exterminating

the

the race of Muſtapha which he had concerted with Roxalana: and as they were afraid that an only ſon whom Muſtapha had left, might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and by employing the ſame arts againſt him, which they had practiſed againſt his father, they inſpired Solyman with the ſame fears, and prevailed on him, to iſſue orders for putting to death that young innocent prince. Theſe orders were executed with barbarous zeal, by a eunuch, who was diſpatched to Burſa, the place where the prince reſided; and no rival was left to diſpute the Ottoman throne, with the ſons of Roxalana.

The Cruelty of NERO *in the Treatment of* THRASEA PÆTUS *and* BAREAS SORANUS *.

AFTER the ſlaughter of many men ſignal in name and quality; Nero, at length, became poſſeſſed with a paſſion to hew down virtue itſelf, by devoting to deſtruction Thraſea Pætus and Bareas Soranus, both, long ſince, the objects of his hate. But, againſt Thraſea he was incenſed from ſeparate cauſes, for that he had withdrawn from the ſenate, when the affair of Agrippina and the merits of her death came under debate there: in the ſolemnizing too of the preludes intitled Juvenales, he had manifeſted a behaviour far from courtly or acceptable; an indignity which pierced the prince the deeper, for that Thraſea himſelf had, at Padua, the place of his nativity, chanted in the habit of a tragedian, during the celebration of the Ceſtic games, inſtituted there by the founder, Antenor from Troy. Moreover when Antiſtius the Prætor, was about to have been by the ſenate condemned to execution, for a virulent ſatire by him compoſed againſt Nero, Thraſea propoſed a mitigation of

* Tacit. Ann. b. 16. Gordon, 3d edit. vol. ii. p. 276.

the ſentence, and carried it. And that when celeſtial honours were decreed to Poppæa, he was purpoſely abſent, nor afterwards attended her funeral: offences which by Capito Coſſutianus were carefully ſaved from falling under oblivion: beſides the native bent of his ſpirit, abandoned to all feats of villany, he bore ſpecial rancour againſt Thraſea, ſince it was he who had ſupported the deputies from Cilicia in their charge upon Capito for extortion there, and by his credit obtained judgment againſt him.

To all theſe crimes of Thraſea's, he added many more: "He had avoided the ſolemnity of renewing "at the beginning of the year, the annual oath then "taken to the Emperor; he had forborn to aſſiſt at "the ſuſception of yearly vows for the preſervation "and proſperity of the prince, though he were at the "ſame time inveſted with the Quindecemviral prieſt-"hood: he had never made oblations for the ſafety of "the prince, nor for his voice divine. He, who had "been formerly ſo aſſiduous in attending, ſo indefa-"tigable in affairs; he, who was wont to intereſt him-"ſelf in every decree, as a promoter or opponent of "the moſt trivial and common, had not now in three "years once entered the ſenate. In an inſtance ſo recent "as that of Silanus and Vetus, when the fathers aſſem-"bled with ſuch warmth and rapidity, to obviate and "puniſh two men ſo dangerous, he only attended to "the perſonal affairs of his clients. What elſe was "all this but an open revolt, a party declared againſt "the adminiſtration? and, if in many particulars the "ſame daring inſolence were once found, what but a "public war could enſue? As of old (purſued Capito) "this city, one ever addicted to diviſions and ſtrife, "was wont to diſcourſe of Cæſar and Cato, as her "two great chiefs and competitors then; ſo now with "the ſame factious ſpirit it is diſcourſed of thee, Nero, "and of Thraſea. Nay, he has his profeſſed followers "and partizans, or rather a body of champions at "arms; men who in truth are not yet arrived to his "boldneſs and contumacy in counſel and ſpeeches, but

"ſtudy

" ſtudy an exact conformity to his mien and manners,
" to a behaviour rigid and melancholy, on purpoſe to
" upbraid thee for a life of gayety and voluptuouſneſs.
" To this man only is thy Imperial life of no con-
" cernment; with him alone all thy accompliſhments
" paſs unregarded; the events of thy reign the moſt
" proſperous, are by him treated with ſcorn; and is
" it not equally true, that with thy misfortunes and
" ſorrows he is not touched nor ſatiated? Such is the
" contumacy of his ſpirit, that he would not believe
" Poppæa to be a deity; and from the ſame ſpirit it
" proceeds, that he would not ſwear to the validity and
" obſervance of all the public acts of Julius Cæſar and
" of Auguſtus, princes promoted to deification. It is
" thus he contemns the worſhip of the Deities, thus
" cancels the laws of the ſtate. Thro' the provinces and
" amongſt the ſeveral armies, the journals of the Roman
" people are peruſed with the greater curioſity and care,
" that thence may be learnt, what tranſactions there are,
" which bear not the name and ſanction of Thraſea.
" In ſhort, let us either embrace theſe inſtitutions and
" politics, if they excel our own; or from a turbulent
" faction thirſting after innovations, let their oracle
" and leader be ſnatched away. Pupils and cham-
" pions formed by the ſame ſect were the Tuberones
" and Favonii formerly, names grating and grievous
" even to the antient common-wealth. It is only to
" ſubvert the empire, that they uſe the fair ſound and
" pretence of liberty; if their evil purpoſes ſucceed,
" liberty itſelf will be the next object of their violence.
" In vain haſt thou baniſhed Caſſius from the ſtate, if
" afterwards thou doſt ſuffer a party, which emulate
" the Brutus's, to gather ſtrength and numbers in it.
" For the reſt, to the ſenate and our management
" leave the judgment and fate of Thraſea; nor to that
" aſſembly do thou write aught about him." Natu-
rally furious was the ſoul of Coſſutianus, and now further ſtimulated by Nero, who to him joined as his aſſiſtant in the accuſation Marcellus Eprius, an orator of great acrimony and vehemence.

The taſk of accuſing Bareas Soranus was already beſpoke, and undertaken by Oſtorius Sabinus, a Roman knight, who arraigned his conduct in the adminiſtration of Aſia, where he had governed as pro-conſul, with ſuch ſignal vigilance and juſtice, as thence to incur freſh jealouſy and rancour from the Emperor. As another offence too, he had beſtowed much pains about a popular work, that of opening the port of Epheſus, and had beſides left unpuniſhed the citizens of Pergamos, for having reſolutely oppoſed Acratus, one of Nero's freed-men, when he would have robbed their city of her pictures and ſtatues. Theſe were his real crimes; thoſe openly imputed were, "his friendſhip with Plautus, and his intrigues to ingratiate "himſelf with the Aſiatics, in order to engage them "in novel deſigns." A particular juncture was choſen for awarding them their doom, that of the arrival of Tiridates to receive the crown of Armenia; perhaps with deſign that, while the public attention and rumour were engaged in concernments from abroad, domeſtic iniquity and bloodſhed, might paſs in quietneſs and obſcurity: or perhaps Nero meant, on this occaſion, to diſplay the might and terrors of imperial power, and the ſlaughter of illuſtrious men, as a feat of Majeſty Royal.

Now while the whole city thronged out to receive the Emperor, and to behold a foreign king, Thraſea had orders to forbear attending the entry, yet was nowiſe caſt down, but compoſed a memorial to Nero: In it he beſought to know "the allegations againſt "him, and averred that he would vindicate himſelf, "were he but apprized of the crimes, and had oppor-"tunity of clearing his innocence." Nero received the memorial greedily, as he hoped that Thraſea, under the influence of terror, might have written ſomewhat tending to magnify the grandeur and glory of the prince, and to ſtain his own renown; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading withal the countenance, the ſpirit, and free ſpeech of that great man, he ordered the ſenate to be ſummoned. Thraſea then

conſulted

conſulted with his friends and kindred, whether he ſhould attempt a defence, or be ſilent. Their advices varied: they, who counſelled his repairing to the ſenate, ſaid, "That they were aſſured of his magnanimity there, and nothing would eſcape him, but what would procure him freſh glory. To the timorous only, and the ſluggard, it belonged to hide the meanneſs of their end in ſhade and obſcurity. It was fit the people ſhould behold ſuch a man going forth boldly to encounter death; it was fit the ſenate ſhould hear his words more than human, pronounced as it were by the mouth of ſome deity; a miracle which might poſſibly ſoften even the heart of Nero. But though he ſhould perſevere in barbarity, yet ſurely in different eſteem with poſterity, would be the memory of a demiſe ſo worthy and diſtinguiſhed, from that of ſuch as choſe ſtupidly to periſh in paſſive ſilence."

Thoſe who gave different counſel, and were for his waiting the iſſue at home, acknowledged the ſame things of the behaviour, and merit of Thraſea: "but, if he went, over him was impending much cruel mockery, and many bitter contumelies: it behoved him to avoid having his ears aſſailed with invectives, and the laſhes of reproach. It was not Coſſutianus only, nor Eprius that were prompt to outrages: there were others beſides, who perhaps would aſſault him with violent hands and blows, to humour the ſavage brutality of the Emperor; and the precedent begun by the violent and bad, might, through dread, be followed even by the merciful and upright. He ought therefore to with-hold from that venerable body, which he had ſo long adorned, an occaſion of ſo tranſcendent a wickedneſs and reproach, and to leave it to uncertainty and conjecture, what would have been the ſpirit and decree of the ſenate, upon the ſeeing of Thraſea defend himſelf before them as a criminal arraigned. To hope that ever Nero would be moved to a ſenſe of ſhame for his crying enormities, was raſh and vain: much

" more to be dreaded was his flying into freſh rage, " and his diſcharging the ſame upon the wife, and " houſehold of Thraſea; and upon every other object " of his tenderneſs and care. Upon the whole, he " ought to meaſure the glory of his latter end by that " of the worthies, by whoſe ſteps and ſtudies he had " ſquared his life, and die in the ſtrength of his inte- " grity, in the fulneſs of fame." In the conſultation there aſſiſted Ruſticus Arulenus, a young man of great ſpirit and fervour. From this temper and a paſſion for fame, he offered to thwart the decree of the ſenate, by interpoſing againſt it; for he was tribune of the people. Thraſea reſtrained his temerity, and cautioned him againſt attempting " methods in themſelves wild, to " the perſon accuſed unavailing, and to the perſon at- " tempting them certainly fatal: for himſelf; he had " finiſhed his courſe, and from the rule of life, which " for ſo many years he had without varying, obſerved, " he muſt not now depart. Into public offices Arulenus " had but juſt entered, and upon his own choice it " reſted, how far to engage in tranſactions future: but " it much imported him to weigh well beforehand " what path he ought to purſue, when during ſuch " times he engaged in offices of ſtate." For the reſt; to the reſult of his own meditation he left it, whether it were proper for him to appear in the ſenate.

On the day following, two Cohorts of the Prætorian guards under arms, environed the temple of Venus the prolific; a number of men dreſſed in the city robe, but armed with ſwords nowiſe concealed, had beſet the entrance of the ſenate; and in the great ſquares, and ſeveral temples, were every where poſted bands of ſoldiers in array. Through the midſt of this ſcene of terror, and under the awe of objects ſo formidable and even menacing, the ſenators paſſed to their aſſembly. There he, who was the Emperor's quæſtor, recited a ſpeech by him ſent, in which without deſcending to name particulars, he upbraided the fathers, " that " they deſerted the functions of the ſtate, and from " their example, the Roman knights too were lapſed " into

" into ſloth and inaction. Hence what marvel, that " ſenators from the remote provinces failed to attend, " when many who had arrived at the conſulſhip, and " been diſtinguiſhed with ſacerdotal dignities, choſe " to withdraw from the public, and rather to devote " themſelves to ſolitude and pleaſant amuſements in " their gardens?"

This ſpeech was as it were a weapon preſented to the accuſers, and greedily they ſnatched it. Coſſutianus having begun the charge, it was by Marcellus purſued with greater acrimony and vehemence: " the " commonwealth, the commonwealth, he fiercely cried, " was here concerned in her tendereſt and moſt eſſen- " tial part: ſuch were the frowardneſs and contumacy " of inferiors, that thence the gentleneſs and clemency " of him, who bore rule, were checked and diminiſhed: " over-mild and acquieſcing had, to that day, been " the temper of the fathers, who could thus ſuffer ſo " many capital criminals to evade chaſtiſement, could " ſuffer Thraſea ſo long revolted from public obedi- " ence, ſuffer his ſon-in-law Helvidius Priſcus im- " merſed in the ſame rebellious meaſures, Paconius " Agrippinus too, one who poſſeſſed from his father " an hereditary rancour towards the Emperors, with " Curtius Montanus, employed in compoſing abomi- " nable poems replete with treaſon. For himſelf; " he wanted to behold Thraſea, him who had been " conſul, now filling his place in the ſenate, him " who was a pontiff, aſſiſting at the ſolemnity where " public vows were made, him who was a fellow- " citizen renewing with the reſt, the oath of fidelity; " unleſs he had already renounced every inſtitution of " our anceſtors, civil and ſacred, openly acted the " traitor, and now declared himſelf a public enemy. " In a word, as he was wont to perform the part of an " active ſenator, wont to defend and protect ſuch as " had lampooned and defamed the prince; let him " reſume his place, let him offer his ſentiments, what " he wiſhed to have corrected, and what to have " changed: much more eaſily would they hear him

" carping at every particular tranſaction, than con-
" demning by his ſullen ſilence the whole adminiſtra-
" tion at once. What was it that grieved him? Was
" it the profound peace eſtabliſhed over the whole
" earth, or the public victories gained by our armies
" without the loſs of men? Far be it from the ſenate
" to ſuffer ſuch a man to gratify an ambition ſo ma-
" lignant and depraved, a man who ſorrowed for the
" felicities of the ſtate, one to whom the public
" places, the theatres and the temples, appeared ſo
" many deſarts, wild and ſtrange, and one who was
" continually threatening to relinquiſh his country and
" roam an exile. With him our decrees here paſſed
" for none, our magiſtrates for none: with him this
" metropolis was no longer Rome. He ought there-
" fore to ceaſe to live in that city, ſince he had long
" ſince diveſted himſelf of all tenderneſs for her, and
" now could not bear her ſight."

As in theſe and the like flights of fury, Marcellus, even in his perſon horrid and grim, was raging againſt Thraſea, with eyes, voice, and viſage all on fire; the ſenate no longer manifeſted that uſual air of ſadneſs, which from the frequency of returning dread and peril, was become cuſtomary there: a terror altogether new, more deep and alarming poſſeſſed them, while to their ſight were preſented ſuch a number of ſoldiers, their arms, and ſeparate bands. Their imaginations were alſo filled with the tragical lot of the perſon accuſed, the venerable perſon of Thraſea: and there were who commiſerated that of Helvidius, " who muſt be
" doomed to puniſhment, merely for an alliance with
" a man void of blame. Againſt Agrippinus too
" what elſe was charged but the tragical fate of his
" father, a man who, in truth, had fallen himſelf an
" innocent victim to the cruelty of Tiberius. Nay,
" baniſhment muſt be the doom of Montanus, a young
" man and virtuous, for no libel by him written, but
" purely becauſe by his writings he had ſignalized his
" genius and parts."

In the mean while entered Oſtorius Sabinus, the accuſer of Soranus, and againſt him urged "the friend-"ſhip between him and Rubellius Plautus; and that "in his proconſular adminiſtration of Aſia, he had "rather conſulted his own popularity and luſtre, than "the public good and utility, by nouriſhing animoſity "and tumults in the provincial cities:" ſtale imputations, and long ſince prepared by the accuſer. But now he offered a recent charge, and in the crimes and perils of the father, involved the daughter, "that "ſhe had with large ſums fee'd the magicians:" a tranſaction reſulting purely from the paſſionate tenderneſs of Servilia (for this was the young lady's name) towards her father, as well as from the unwarineſs of her youth: yet the whole of her conſultation was "only about the conſervation of her houſe, whether "the wrath of Nero might not come to be appeaſed; "and whether no tragical judgment would follow the "cognizance of the ſenate." For this, ſhe was brought into the ſenate, and before the tribunal of the two conſuls. At oppoſite ſides, ſtood the father and daughter, he full of years, ſhe under twenty, and, ſince the late baniſhment of Annius Pollio her huſband, in a ſtate of widowhood, ſolitary and ſad. Her father's face upon this occaſion ſhe could not bear to behold, ſince ſhe, as it ſeemed, had wofully heightened his danger and ſufferings.

The accuſer now queſtioned her, "whether ſhe had "not turned into money her bridal ornaments, and "even ſtript from her neck her collar jewels, in order "to defray the expence of magic rites and ſacrifices?" At firſt ſhe caſt herſelf down, and lay along upon the floor; then after a flood of tears, after long ſobbing and ſilence, ſhe roſe, and embracing the altars, particularly that of Venus; "No miſchievous divinities," ſaid ſhe, "have I invoked; no incantations have I "tried, nor was aught elſe the burden of my raſh and "diſaſtrous ſupplications, than that thou Cæſar, and "you fathers of the ſenate, would to this my dear "and indulgent parent, beſet with terrors and afflic-

" tion, graciouſly afford protection and ſafety. With " this view I preſented my jewels, my precious ray- " ment, and other decorations peculiar to my quality; " as I would have preſented my blood and life, had " my blood and life been required. To theſe fore- " tellers, men till now utterly unknown to me, it " belongs to declare whoſe miniſters they are, and " what myſteries they uſe. By myſelf the prince's " name was not once pronounced otherwiſe than with " thoſe of the deities. Yet to all this proceeding of " mine, whatever it were, my unfortunate father was " an utter ſtranger; and if it is a crime, I alone am " the delinquent." Theſe words alarmed Soranus, and while ſhe was yet uttering them, he interrupted her: he cried out with earneſtneſs, " that his daughter " went not with him to the province, ſuch too was her " tender age that ſhe could have no poſſible acquain- " tance with Plautus: in the crimes of her huſband " ſhe was nowiſe engaged; her only blame was that of " filial piety overſtrained: let her cauſe be therefore " disjoined from his; his own fate, whatever it ſhould " prove, he was ready to undergo." This ſaid, he was haſtening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him, but the conſular lictors ſtepped between and prevented them.

To the witneſſes next, an immediate hearing was given, and however high the barbarous ſpirit of the accuſer had already raiſed common ſympathy and compaſſion for the accuſed; equally high was the indignation excited by the appearing of Publius Egnatius as an evidence; a client and follower of Soranus, now bought with a price to overwhelm his patron and his friend. As he profeſſed the rigid ſect of the Stoics, his teſtimony was from this circumſtance to derive weight and conſideration; for into ſuch ſolemnity had he framed his countenance and whole exterior, as to diſplay the ſemblance of a man worthily diſpoſed, and virtuouſly employed, but he poſſeſſed a ſoul traiterous and enſnaring, replete with avarice and every depraved appetite, all artfully concealed. But now the force of money, more prevalent

valent than art, having laid open ſo much hypocriſy and impoſture, furniſhed an inſtructive example, that as we guard againſt ſuch as are branded for notorious frauds and contaminated with open villainies; ſo with no leſs care ought we to guard againſt men, who, under the fair guiſe of righteous life and acquirements, hide hollow hearts, alike prompt to profeſs and to betray friendſhips. On that ſame day, however, was exhibited a different and honourable example by Caſſius Aſclepiodotus, a man, for his ſignal opulence, of the foremoſt rank in Bithynia; yet without regarding what riſk he incurred, the ſame devotion and reverence, with which he had courted Soranus during the ſunſhine of his fortune, he ceaſed not to pay him, though now ſinking under malignant fate. Hence he was deſpoiled of his whole fortune, and doomed to exile. Such was the lukewarmneſs and the indifference of the deities, alike unmoved by patterns of righteouſneſs and thoſe of iniquity! To Thraſea, to Soranus and Servilia, was granted the choice of their own deaths: Helvidius and Paconius were to be baniſhed from Italy: Montanus, for the ſake of his father, had his pardon, with an exception annexed, "that he ſhould never be admitted to any "office in the ſtate." To Eprius, one of the accuſers, was decreed a reward of more than thirty thouſand pounds, to Coſſutianus another, the like ſum; and to Oſtorius the third, as many thouſand crowns, beſides another recompence, that of the ornaments of the quæſtorſhip.

The quæſtor attending the conſul was, now in the cloſe of the day, diſpatched to Thraſea, then in his gardens. He was at that inſtant frequented by a numerous aſſembly of men and women, illuſtrious for their quality, but was chiefly attentive to Demetrius, a profeſſor of the Cynic ſchool. With this philoſopher, as far as could be conjectured by the intenſeneſs of his looks, and by certain words, which, when they happened to raiſe their voices, were over-heared, he was reaſoning and inquiring about the nature of the ſoul,

and

and concerning its departure from the body, till he was interrupted by the arrival of Domitius Cæcilianus. This was one of his moſt intimate friends, who related to him what the ſenate had decreed. As upon theſe ſad tidings, the company melted into tears; Thraſea preſſed them "forthwith to retire, nor to tempt danger "by involving themſelves in the fate of a perſon con-"demned:" And as Arria his wife was earneſt to emulate the example of her mother, and to ſhare with her huſband in his laſt lot, he beſought her, "to pre-"ſerve her life, nor to deprive their common daughter "of her only remaining refuge."

He then went forth into a gallery, and there the quæſtor from the ſenate found him, filled rather with chearfulneſs than with any oppoſite paſſion, ſince he had learnt that againſt Helvidius his ſon-in-law, nothing worſe was decreed than his baniſhment from Italy. Having now had delivered to him in form, the ſentence of the ſenate; he took Helvidius and Demetrius into his chamber, and extending both his arms, the veins of both were cut: as the blood ſprang, he called the quæſtor nigher, and with it beſprinkling the floor; "Let us, ſaid he to him, make this liba-"tion to Jove the Deliverer. Look here, young "man, and conſider; may Heaven too grant there "be no omen in my words: but into ſuch times thy "birth and age have thrown thee, as may juſtly re-"quire thee to fortify thy ſpirit by examples of mag-"nanimity."

The Reſignation of CHARLES V. *of his Dominions to his Son* PHILIP *.

THOUGH it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary diſcernment, to diſcover that the ſtate of royalty is not exempt from cares and diſappointment; though moſt of thoſe who are exalted to a throne, find ſolicitude, and ſatiety, and diſguſt to be their perpetual attendants in that envied pre-eminence; yet to deſcend voluntarily from the ſupreme to a ſubordinate ſtation, and to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of power, in order to attain the enjoyment of happineſs, ſeems to be an effort too great for the human mind. Several inſtances, indeed, occur in hiſtory of monarchs who have quitted a throne, and have ended their days in retirement. But they were either weak princes who took this reſolution raſhly, and repented of it as ſoon as it was taken; or unfortunate princes, from whoſe hands ſome ſtrong rival had wreſted their ſceptre, and compelled them to deſcend with reluctance into a private ſtation. Diocleſian is perhaps the only prince capable of holding the reins of government, who ever reſigned them from deliberate choice, and who continued during many years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement, without fetching one penitent ſigh or caſting back one look of deſire, towards the power or dignity which he had abandoned.

No wonder then, that Charles's reſignation of his hereditary dominions to his ſon, Philip, ſhould fill all Europe with aſtoniſhment, and give riſe both among his contemporaries, and among the hiſtorians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives which determined a prince, whoſe ruling paſſion had been uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty-ſix,

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V, 4to. vol. iii. p. 329—358.

ſix, when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are purſued with the greateſt ardour, to take a reſolution ſo ſingular and unexpected. But while many authors have imputed it to motives ſo frivolous and fantaſtical, as can hardly be ſuppoſed to influence any reaſonable mind; while others have imagined it to be the reſult of ſome profound ſcheme of policy; hiſtorians more intelligent, and better informed, neither aſcribe it to caprice, nor ſearch for myſterious ſecrets of ſtate, where ſimple and obvious cauſes will fully account for the Emperor's conduct. Charles had been attacked early in life with the gout, and notwithſtanding all the precautions of the moſt ſkilful phyſicians in his time, the violence of the diſtemper increaſed, as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more intolerable. Not only was the vigour of his conſtitution broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. During the continuance of the fits, he was altogether incapable of applying to buſineſs, and even when they began to abate, as it was only at intervals that he could attend to what was ſerious, he gave up the greateſt part of his time to trifling, and even childiſh occupations, which ſerved to relieve or to amuſe his mind, enfeebled and worn out with exceſs of pain. Under theſe circumſtances, the conduct of ſuch affairs as occurred, of courſe, in governing ſo many kingdoms, was a burden more than ſufficient; but to puſh forward and compleat the vaſt ſchemes, which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view, and carry on the ſame great ſyſtem of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were taſks, which far exceeded his ſtrength, and oppreſſed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accuſtomed to view the buſineſs of every department, whether civil or military, or eccleſiaſtical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas; it gave him the utmoſt pain, when he felt his infirmities

infirmities increaſe ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his miniſters. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miſcarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable, and the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inſpection of buſineſs himſelf. He complained of his hard fortune, in being oppoſed, in his declining years, to a rival, who was in the full vigour of life; and that while Henry could take and execute all his reſolutions in perſon, he ſhould now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the abilities of other men. Having thus grown old before his time, he wiſely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in ſome ſolitude, than to expoſe them any longer to the public eye; and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame, or loſe the acquiſitions of his better years, by ſtruggling with a vain obſtinacy to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with ſteadineſs, or to guide them with addreſs.

But though Charles had revolved this ſcheme in his mind for ſeveral years, and had communicated it to his ſiſters the dowager queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him, to whatever place of retreat he ſhould chooſe; ſeveral things had hitherto prevented his carying it into execution. He could not think of loading his ſon with the government of ſo many kingdoms, until he ſhould attain ſuch maturity of age, and of abilities, as would enable him to ſuſtain that weighty burden; but as Philip had now reached his twenty-eighth year of age, and been early accuſtomed to buſineſs, for which he diſcovered both inclination and capacity, it can hardly be imputed to the partiality of paternal affection, that his ſcruples with regard to this point, were entirely removed; and that he thought he might, without further heſitation or delay, place him on the throne, which he was about to abandon. His mother's ſituation had been another obſtruction in his way. For, although ſhe had continued

nued almoſt fifty years in confinement, and under the ſame diſorder of mind, which concern for her huſband's death had brought upon her, yet the government of Spain was ſtill veſted in her jointly with the Emperor; her name was inſerted together with his, in all the public writs iſſued in the kingdom; and ſuch was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to her, that they would probably have ſcrupled to recognize Philip as their ſovereign, unleſs ſhe had conſented to aſſume him as her partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for buſineſs rendered it impoſſible to obtain this. But her death, which happened this year, 1555, removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon that event, became ſole monarch of Spain, it left the ſucceſſion open to his ſon. The war with France had likewiſe been a reaſon for retaining the adminiſtration of affairs in his own hand; as he was extremely ſolicitous to have terminated it, that he might have given up his kingdoms to his ſon, at peace with all the world. But as Henry had diſcovered no diſpoſition to cloſe with any of his overtures, and had even rejected propoſals of peace, which were equal and moderate, in a tone that ſeemed to indicate a fixed purpoſe of continuing hoſtilities, he ſaw that it was vain to wait longer in expectation of an event, which, how deſirable ſoever, was altogether uncertain.

As this then appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the ſcheme, which he had long meditated; Charles reſolved to reſign his kingdoms to his ſon, with a ſolemnity ſuitable to the importance of the tranſaction, and to perform this laſt act of ſovereignty, with ſuch formal pomp, as might leave a laſting impreſſion on the minds, not only of his ſubjects, but of his ſucceſſor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peeviſh temper of his queen, which increaſed with her deſpair of having iſſue, rendered him extremely unhappy, and the jealouſy of the Engliſh left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having aſſembled the ſtates of the Low Countries at Bruſſels, on the 25th of October, he ſeated himſelf, for the laſt time, on the chair of ſtate, on one ſide

of

of which was placed his ſon, and on the other his ſiſter the queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a ſplendid retinue of the grandees of Spain and princes of the empire ſtanding behind him. The preſident of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the ſtates. He then read the inſtrument of reſignation, by which Charles rendered to his ſon Philip, all his territories, juriſdiction, and authority in the Low Countries, abſolving his ſubjects there from the oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip his lawful heir, and to ſerve him with the ſame loyalty and zeal that they had manifeſted, during ſo long a courſe of years, in ſupport of his government.

Charles then roſe from his ſeat, and leaning on the ſhoulder of the prince of Orange, becauſe he was unable to ſtand without ſupport, he addreſſed himſelf to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to aſſiſt his memory, recounted with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration. He obſerved that from the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, reſerving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his eaſe, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleaſure; that either in a pacific or hoſtile manner, he had viſited Germany nine times, Spain ſix times, France four times, Italy ſeven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by ſea; that while his health permitted him to diſcharge his duty, and the vigour of his conſtitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing ſuch extenſive dominions, he had never ſhunned labour nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhauſted by the rage of an incurable diſtemper, his growing infirmities admoniſhed him to retire; nor was he ſo fond of reigning as to retain the ſceptre in an impotent hand,

hand, which was no longer able to protect his ſubjects, or to render them happy; that inſtead of a ſovereign worn out with diſeaſes, and ſcarce half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accuſtomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and ſagacity of maturer years; that, if during the courſe of a long adminiſtration, he had committed any material error in government, or if under the preſſure, and amidſt the attention which he had been obliged to give to ſo many and great affairs, he had either neglected or injured any of his ſubjects, he now implored their forgiveneſs; that, for his part, he ſhould ever retain a grateful ſenſe of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him, to the place of his retreat, as his ſweeteſt conſolation, as well as the beſt reward for all his ſervices, and in his laſt prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his ardent wiſhes for their welfare.

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiſſed his father's hand, "If, ſays he, I had left "you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I "have made ſuch large additions, ſome regard would "have been juſtly due to my memory on that account; "but now when I voluntarily reſign to you what I "might have ſtill retained, I may well expect the "warmeſt expreſſions of thanks on your part. With "theſe, however, I diſpenſe, and ſhall conſider your "concern for the welfare of your ſubjects, and your "love of them, as the beſt and moſt acceptable teſti-"mony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, "by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to juſtify the "extraordinary proof which I give this day of my "paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that you are "worthy of the confidence which I repoſe in you. "Preſerve an inviolable regard for religion: maintain "the catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your "country be ſacred in your eyes; encroach not on "the rights and privileges of your people; and if "the time ſhall ever come, when you ſhall wiſh to "enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have

"a ſon

" a ſon endued with ſuch qualities that you can reſign " your ſceptre to him, with as much ſatisfaction, as I " give up mine to you."

As ſoon as Charles had finiſhed this long addreſs to his ſubjects and to their new ſovereign, he ſunk into the chair, exhauſted and ready to faint with the fatigue of ſuch an extraordinary effort. During his diſcourſe the whole audience melted into tears, ſome from admiration of his magnanimity, others ſoftened by the expreſſions of tenderneſs towards his ſon, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepeſt ſorrow at loſing a ſovereign, who had diſtinguiſhed the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

Philip then roſe from his knees, and after returning thanks to his father, with a low and ſubmiſſive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had beſtowed upon him, he addreſſed the aſſembly of the ſtates, and regretting his inability to ſpeak the Flemiſh language with ſuch facility, as to expreſs what he felt on this intereſting occaſion, as well as what he owed to his good ſubjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would allow Granvelle biſhop of Arras, to deliver what he had given him in charge to ſpeak in his name. Granvelle, in a long diſcourſe, expatiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his ſubjects, on his reſolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of their happineſs, and on his intention to imitate his father's example in diſtinguiſhing the Netherlands with peculiar marks of his regard. Maes, a lawyer of great eloquence, replied in name of the ſtates with large profeſſions of their fidelity and affection to their new ſovereign.

Then Mary, queen dowager of Hungary, reſigned the regency, with which ſhe had been intruſted by her brother during the ſpace of twenty-five years. Next day Philip, in preſence of the ſtates, took the uſual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his ſubjects; and all the members, in their own name, and in that of their conſtituents, ſwore allegiance to him.

A few

A few weeks thereafter, Charles, in an aſſembly no leſs ſplendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, reſigned to his ſon the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the old, and the new world. Of all theſe vaſt poſſeſſions, he reſerved nothing for himſelf but an annual penſion of an hundred thouſand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a ſmall ſum for acts of beneficence and charity.

The Death of VIRGINIA, *and the Abolition of the Decemvirate in* Rome *.

AS Appius the decemvir, was one day going to his tribunal, he accidentally caſt his eyes on a young virgin of uncommon beauty, who was reading her book in one of the public ſchools †. Her charms, and the blooming graces of youth, immediately drew his attention. He could not help beholding her with a ſecret pleaſure: his curioſity increaſed the next day; he thought her more lovely than before; and as he was obliged to paſs often by the ſchool, he inſenſibly conceived a moſt violent paſſion for her. Upon inquiry after her family and condition, he learnt, that ſhe was by birth a plebeian, her name Virginia; that ſhe had loſt her mother Numitoria; that her father, Virginius, then ſerved in the poſt of centurion, in the army employed againſt the Æqui, and that he had promiſed his daughter to Icilius, who had been tribune of the people, and who was to marry her at the end of the campaign.

This account, ſo unfavourable to Appius's paſſion, ſerved only to increaſe it. He would gladly have married

* Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. vol. i. 4to. p. 356—368.

† In theſe times it was cuſtomary at Rome, for young perſons of that ſex, as well as of the other, to purſue their proper ſtudies in ſchools that were purpoſely erected for them in the Forum.

ried Virginia, but he had a wife already; and had this not been the caſe, the laſt laws of the twelve tables, of which he was the chief framer, prohibited all intermarriages of patricians and plebeians; ſo that he had no room to hope for the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young maid.

The innocence and modeſty of Virginia reſtrained him from opening his diſhoneſt purpoſe directly to herſelf. He thought it more proper to begin the work by means of one of thoſe women of intrigue, who make a private market of the beauty and charms of youth. He loaded her with favours, and having let her into his deſires, ordered her not to name him, but to ſay only, that Virginia's lover was a man in power, who could do much good or hurt to others, according to his pleaſure. This woman applied herſelf to Virginia's nurſe, made her rich preſents, and richer promiſes; and having thus paved the way, came at length to the ſubject of her errand. But the nurſe, equally faithful and prudent, not only rejected the propoſal with horror, but kept now a more watchful eye upon her charge than ever. Appius learned with grief, that it was impoſſible either to deceive or to corrupt her.

However, his paſſion growing for her ſtill more furious by the difficulty it met with, he had recourſe to another ſtratagem more bold and impudent, and which, if it ſucceeded, would put Virginia wholly in his power. For the execution of this new ſcheme, he employed a client of his, named M. Claudius, a man without ſhame or fear, and one of thoſe who introduce themſelves to the ear of the great, by the ſole merit of a baſe complaiſance for their pleaſures. This miniſter of the decemvir's paſſion, taking with him a band of fellows like himſelf, entered the public ſchool where Virginia was, and ſeizing her by the arm, would force her away to his own houſe, under pretence that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves. He was already dragging her all in tears through the Forum, when the people, hearing a great cry, flocked about him,

him, and being moved with ſo piteous a ſight, obliged him to let go his hold. The villain perceiving that he could not execute his firſt deſign, pretended that he had not meant to uſe any violence, but to proceed in due courſe of law; and he cited her to appear immediately before the decemvir. Virginia, by the new laws, was obliged to follow the claimant to the tribunal of juſtice, where Appius was that day deſignedly alone upon the bench. The multitude all attended her, ſome out of curioſity to ſee the iſſue of ſo ſtrange a buſineſs, and others out of affection to Icilius, who during his tribunate had made himſelf very agreeable to the people. Claudius was going inſtantly to open his claim; but the people, full of indignation, cried out, that he ought to wait till Virginia's relations, who had been ſent for, were come. To this the judge conſented; and Numitorius, the uncle of the young woman, arrived ſoon after with a great number of his kinſmen and friends.

Silence being then made, Claudius ſet forth, that Virginia was born in his houſe; that ſhe was privately ſtolen away by a ſlave, her mother; who, to conceal her theft, had pretended to be delivered of a dead child: but that it had ſince been diſcovered that ſhe had ſold this child to Virginia's wife, who was barren; and who, being uneaſy at having no child, had made Virginia paſs for her daughter; that he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that in the mean while it was but juſt that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter; and that he would give good ſecurity for her appearance again, if Virginius, at his return, ſtill pretended to be her real father.

Numitorius preſently ſaw, that there was ſomebody of much greater weight and power than Claudius at the bottom of this contrivance; but he prudently concealed his ſuſpicions, and repreſented to the decemvir, with a great deal of calmneſs, that his niece's father was abſent in the ſervice of his country; that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children,

children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it; that Virginius, upon notice, would not fail to be at Rome in two days, till whoſe return, it was but fitting that her uncle ſhould have the care of her. Numitorius offered to give any ſecurity whatſoever for producing her again; but he ſaid, it was not reaſonable to truſt the daughter of Virginius in the houſe of ſuch a one as Claudius, where her honour would be in danger even more than her liberty. He added, that what he demanded, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-ſuit, and before a definitive ſentence, the plaintiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion.

The whole aſſembly ſhewed by their applauſes, that they thought this requeſt to be perfectly juſt. Appius, having cauſed ſilence to be proclaimed, and affecting the impartiality becoming a judge, declared, that he ſhould always be the protector of ſo reaſonable a law, and which he himſelf had inſerted in the twelve tables; but that in the preſent diſpute, there were ſome particular circumſtances which altered the caſe; that here were two perſons claiming, one, as a father, the other as a maſter; that if he who pretended to be the father of Virginia were preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion of her till the deciſion of the conteſt; but that he being abſent, the perſon who claimed her as his ſlave, ought to have that poſſeſſion, giving good ſecurity, however, to produce her again at the return of him who was called her father. This ſaid, he ordered Virginia to be delivered up to Claudius.

All the people preſent exclaimed againſt ſo iniquitous a decree; and nothing was to be heard but cries of indignation, ſhrieks and lamentations. The women, with tears in their eyes, gathered round Virginia, and placed her in the midſt of them, as if they meant to defend her. In this inſtant Icilius, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, came running into the Forum with fury in his eyes, and loudly demanding who he was that dared to lay violent hands upon a free

woman, and what were his pretenſions? Appius, who perceived him breaking through the croud, ordered a lictor to oppoſe his paſſage, and to tell him that the affair was already judged. But nothing could ſtop the enraged lover; he forced his way up to the tribunal, and taking Virginia in his arms, "No Appius, he cried, nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from her. If thou wouldeſt have thy vile artifices concealed, thou muſt murder me. Aſſemble all thy lictors, and if thou wilt, thoſe of thy collegues too, bid them prepare their rods and axes; but to my laſt breath I will defend her honour. Have you deprived the Romans of the protection of their tribunes, that you may ſubject their wives and daughters to your lewdneſs? Go on to exerciſe your rage in ſcourging and ſlaughtering the Roman citizens; but let modeſty and chaſtity eſcape your tyranny. Virginia is mine, ſhe is promiſed to me, and I expect to marry a virgin pure and unſpotted. I will receive her from no man's hands but her father's. If in his abſence any attempt be made to do her violence, I will implore the aid of the Roman people for my wife; Virginius will demand the aſſiſtance of his fellow-ſoldiers for his daughter; and both Gods and men will be on our ſide."

The people, equally moved with his misfortune, and his courage, fell upon the lictors, who were forcing away Virginia, diſperſed them, and obliged Claudius himſelf to ſeek refuge at Appius's feet. The aſſembly was full of noiſe and confuſion. The tumult increaſed by the arrival of thoſe who flocked to the Forum from all parts of the city. Appius, quite ſtunned at ſeeing to what a degree the people were incenſed againſt him, was for ſome time in doubt what meaſures to take. At length, having cauſed ſilence to be made: "It is well known, ſaid he, Icilius only wants an opportunity of reſtoring the tribuneſhip, by means of a ſedition. But that he may have no pretence of complaint; I am willing to wait for Virginius's return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him notice.

"It

" It is not above four hours journey from hence to the " camp. I will prevail upon Claudius to yield up " ſomewhat of his right for the ſake of the public " peace; and to let the girl remain in liberty till the " return of the man ſhe imagines to be her father. " But in caſe Virginius does not appear to-morrow, I " would have Icilius know, that I ſhall not want any " aſſiſtance from my collegues to put my decree in " execution, or to keep in awe ſuch ambitious ſpirits " as he."

Claudius, feigning to admit unwillingly of this delay, requeſted, that at leaſt Icilius might give ſecurity for producing Virginia on the morrow. The people all around immediately held up their hands, and every man offered eagerly to be his ſecurity. Icilius, touched with the affection of his fellow citizens, broke into tears, while he returned them thanks. " To-morrow, " ſaid he, if there be occaſion, we will make uſe of " your aſſiſtance. To-day, I hope they will be ſatis- " fied with my ſecurity, and that of all Virginia's re- " lations."

Appius, though intoxicated with his paſſion, durſt not refuſe ſuch bail; but he privately diſpatched a meſſenger to his collegues who commanded the army, intreating them to arreſt Virginius upon ſome pretence or other, and to keep him in cloſe priſon. He thought that, the father not appearing at the time appointed, he might then with a good colour deliver up the daughter into Claudius's hands; but his courier arrived at the camp too late. Numitorius's ſon, and a brother of Icilius, had been before-hand with him; Virginius, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, pretending the ſudden death of ſome relation, had obtained leave to return to Rome, and was already gone. And he had the good fortune to eſcape two parties of horſe, one which, upon the receipt of Appius's letter, the decemvirs ſent after him to ſtop him, and the other, which Appius, with the ſame deſign, had placed in the road that led from the city to the camp.

He appeared the next morning in the Forum, pierced to the heart with grief, and leading by the hand his daughter all drowned in tears: ſhe was accompanied by her kinſwomen, and by a great number of other ladies. Virginius, as he paſſed along, addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens with an air of dignity, that ſeemed to demand their aſſiſtance, rather than to implore it. "To what purpoſe, ſaid he, do we every "day expoſe our lives in war to defend our wives and "children from a foreign enemy, if our tyrants at "Rome exerciſe upon them all the violence that can "be offered in a city taken by aſſault?" Icilius, quite furious with love and reſentment, inveighed loudly againſt Appius, without any reſerve; but the ſilent tears of the whole train of women, affected the multitude more than any words or exclamations.

Appius heard, with extreme ſurprize, that Virginius was in the Forum. Full of rage and vexation, he repaired inſtantly thither, with a numerous guard of his dependants and creatures. Having aſcended his tribunal, he bid Claudius open his demand, and proceed in his action. Claudius then repeated what he had ſaid the day before, and at the ſame time produced the ſlave, whom he had ſuborned, and who, out of fear of her maſter, declared, that ſhe had ſold Virginia to Virginius's wife. The claimant added, that he had many other credible witneſſes to produce, if there were occaſion; and that he humbly hoped, his being the judge's client, would not be thought a good reaſon for refuſing him that juſtice, which every other man would obtain in the like caſe; and he concluded, with intreating the decemvir not to ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by his compaſſion, to the prejudice of truth and right.

The friends and relations of Virginia, to deſtroy this impoſture, repreſented that her mother, Numitoria, could have had no temptation to practiſe ſuch a fraud as was pretended; that ſhe was married very young, and to a man almoſt as young as herſelf; that ſhe bore a child in a very few years after her marriage; that

if

if ſhe had proved barren, and had been minded to introduce a ſtranger into her family, ſhe would never have taken the child of a ſlave, and certainly not a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy. That as to thoſe many credible witneſſes which Claudius talked of producing, it was highly improbable that a tranſaction, which required ſo much ſecrecy, ſhould be imparted to many perſons, when one was ſufficient for the purpoſe. That granting Numitoria to have been guilty of ſo ſtrange a folly, it was yet ſtranger that an affair intruſted with ſo many confidents, ſhould remain ſo long a ſecret. That it was impoſſible to account why Claudius himſelf ſhould be ſo profoundly ſilent in this affair for fifteen years, and ſhould never declare his pretenſions till the young woman was become marriageable, and appeared in that wonderful degree of beauty.

At theſe words all eyes were turned upon Virginia; the modeſty of her countenance, her tears, her youth, her innocence, and above all, her amazing beauty, which, clouded as it was with exceſſive grief, had yet a ſurpaſſing luſtre, filled every breaſt with the moſt tender compaſſion. Nor could they help reflecting with extreme concern and terror, that if the laws of liberty were thus violated in the perſon of this young maid, there could be no longer any ſecurity for wives or daughters againſt the like diſhonour. For every body was already convinced, that the allegations of Claudius and his witneſſes were mere impoſtures, and the wicked contrivance of ſome dignified villain, who thought himſelf at liberty to do whatever he pleaſed.

But to thoſe arguments, ſhewing the improbability of what Claudius had alledged, Virginius added, that he had witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit ready, (whom he named, and who he deſired might be ſtrictly examined) who would teſtify, ſome that they had ſeen Numitoria big with child, others, that they had been preſent when ſhe was delivered of this daughter, and others, that they had ſeen her give ſuck to young Virginia,

ginia, which ſhe could not have done had ſhe been barren, as Claudius pretended.

Virginius was ſtill going on with his plea, when Appius perceiving the impreſſion that was made upon the aſſembly by thoſe unanſwerable reaſons that had been offered, and being determined at any rate to accompliſh his enterprize, interrupted him, and commanded ſilence, ſignifying, that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. All the people being curious and anxious to know what it was, were preſently ſtill, and liſtened to him with attention.

The decemvir, having firſt caſt his eyes on all ſides to obſerve his ſtrength, and how his friends were poſted, "Virginius, ſaid he, I muſt acquaint you, "and all who are here preſent, that this is not the firſt "time I have heard of this affair. I was told of it "long before my election to the decemvirate. Clau-"dius's father, at his death, deſired me to be guar-"dian to his ſon. Intimations were ſoon after given "me, that I ought to claim this young ſlave in right "of my ward. Hereupon I examined into the matter, "and found the fact to be directly as Claudius "has repreſented it. However, I did not think it "became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, but "choſe rather to leave it for him to manage when he "ſhould come of age, when he might either take back "the girl, or accept of a ſum of money for her from "the parties who had bred her up. Our civil feuds, "and the hurry of public buſineſs, hindered me after-"wards from giving any attention to the concerns of "Claudius. He has applied himſelf of late, I ſuppoſe, "to examine into the ſtate of his affairs, and he finds "this girl to belong to him as part of his inheritance. "I can ſee nothing unjuſt or unreaſonable in the de-"mand he makes, to have the daughter of his ſlave "reſtored to him. It would have been better indeed, "if the thing could ſome way or other have been com-"promiſed. But ſince a ſuit has been commenced "upon it, I am obliged in conſcience to give teſti-

"mony

" mony in his favour; and upon what I myſelf know,
" I do, as judge, pronounce him lawful maſter of
" this girl."

Virginius, provoked to the higheſt pitch, at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, no longer kept any meaſures with the decemvir. Holding up his hand at him, " Appius, I promiſed my daughter to Icilius, and not " to thee. I educated her for honourable marriage, " and not to be a prey to an infamous raviſher. What! " is the lawleſs luſt of ſavage beaſts to prevail among " us? How the citizens here will bear with theſe " things, I know not; but I truſt that thoſe who are " in arms will not endure them."

The people at theſe words ſet up a loud cry full of indignation, and they ſeemed, at firſt, as if they would oppoſe the execution of Appius's decree. But the decemvir with a threatening voice told them, that he was not unacquainted with the ſeditious meetings which had been held the night before, nor with the plots there laid to cauſe an inſurrection; but that he wanted neither power nor reſolution to chaſtiſe thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the public peace; that the ſoldiers in the Capitol had not been placed there, only for defence againſt a foreign enemy: and he adviſed them therefore to be careful of their behaviour, and to retire quietly to their own houſes. " And you, ſaid he, " (ſpeaking to one of the lictors), go put aſide the " crowd, and make room for a maſter to lay hold of " his ſlave."

The multitude, terrified at theſe menaces, and the wrathful manner in which they were uttered, inſtantly gave back, and left the unhappy Virginia ſtanding by herſelf, a helpleſs prey to injuſtice. Virginius, who then ſaw that there was no other remedy, turning towards the decemvir, in humble manner thus addreſſed him: " Pardon, Appius, the unguarded words which " eſcaped from me in the anguiſh of a fatherly grief; " and allow me, if you pleaſe, before Claudius takes " away the girl, privately to aſk, in her preſence, ſome " queſtions of her nurſe, that I may be ſet right in

" this matter; and, in caſe Virginia be not really " my daughter, may return to the camp in leſs af- " fliction."

Appius readily granted him this requeſt, upon condition, however, that it ſhould be in Claudius's ſight, and without ſtirring out of the Forum. Virginius, pierced to the heart with the ſharpeſt ſorrow, took his daughter, half dead, in his arms; he wiped away the tears in which her face was all bathed, embraced her, and drawing her near to ſome ſhops which were on the ſide of the Forum, chance directed him to a butcher's knife: having inſtantly ſeized it, " My dear " daughter, this is the only way to ſave thy honour, " and thy liberty:" As he ſaid theſe words, he plunged the knife into her heart: then drawing it out again all ſmoaking with her blood, he turned towards the tribunal, and with a furious voice cried out, " By " this blood, Appius, I devote thy head to the infer- " nal gods."

The decemvir, from his tribunal, called out in the greateſt fury to ſeize him; but he with the knife in his hand, made his way through thoſe who would have ſtopped him; and, being favoured by the multitude, got out of the city, mounted his horſe, and took the road to the camp. In the mean while, Numitorius and Icilius raiſed a great commotion in Rome; they ſtaid by the dead body of Virginia, ſhewed it to the eyes of the people, and beſought them not to let her death go unrevenged. Crowds flocked to the Forum from all parts, they uttered bitter exclamations againſt the decemvirs, and demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient government of the tribunes. As for Appius, he was now returned to his own houſe. He had waded through an ocean of wickedneſs, to reach a prize which eſcaped him for ever, in the very moment he thought to take poſſeſſion of it. He had been a ſpectator of the murder of her, whom he loved to exceſs, a murder, of which he himſelf was the cauſe; and by his laſt ſtroke of tyranny, had made ſure of the extreme hatred and indignation of the Roman people. Stung with

with theſe reflections, he ſeemed to have quite loſt his reaſon. Inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he ſent his lictors to ſeize Icilius, and carry away the dead body from the Forum. The people oppoſed the execution of his orders; and being now urged to fury, fell upon the lictors, broke their faſces, and drove them out of the Forum. Appius hereupon getting together, as faſt as he could, a great number of his friends and clients, came in perſon to ſupport his authority. But Valerius and Horatius, ſworn enemies of the decemvirs, having had notice of his motion, had put themſelves at the head of a band of brave young men, marched them into the Forum, and placed them round the body of Virginia. At firſt the two parties diſcharged their fury againſt each other in mutual reproaches and invectives; but they ſoon after came to blows. Appius was worſted and repulſed. In this perplexity, not knowing what elſe to do, he got up into the temple of Vulcan, and there took upon him to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanding that Valerius and Horatius ſhould be thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock, as diſturbers of the public peace; but the multitude hiſſed at ſo ſenſeleſs a diſcourſe; and in the mean time Valerius, having cauſed the body of Virginia to be carried to the top of a flight of ſteps, where the people might ſee it, was from the ſame eminence inveighing againſt Appius. Moſt of the decemvir's auditors ſoon left him to go to Valerius, who thereupon aſſuming the authority of a magiſtrate, commanded the lictors to pay no more attendance on a private perſon. And now Appius, terrified at the deſertion of many of his creatures whom he ſaw changing ſides, believed his life to be in danger; hiding therefore his face with his robe he fled, and took refuge in a neighbouring houſe. At this juncture Oppius, the Plebeian decemvir, ruſhed from another ſide into the Forum, to ſuccour his collegue. But he came too late. Force had got the better of authority. He judged therefore, that the wiſeſt method in the preſent exigence was to aſſemble the ſenate; and this in a great

meaſure quieted the people, for they hoped that the decemvirate would ſpeedily be aboliſhed. But thoſe of the fathers who happened to be in Rome, were moſt of them friends to the preſent government; they only ordered the people to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near Algidus, to prevent the ſedition which Virginius might excite there. In the mean time, Valerius and Horatius cauſed the body of Virginia to be laid in an open litter, and to be carried in great pomp through all the high ſtreets, in order to excite the compaſſion of the citizens, and increaſe their deteſtation of the decemvirs. Men and women, old and young, married and unmarried, all ran out of their houſes to ſee this funeral proceſſion, and they all bewailed her fatal beauty, and her untimely end. The women with tears in their eyes threw, ſome of them flowers upon the litter, others the ribbons from their heads to adorn it, others caſt their girdles, their fillets, and wreaths of their hair upon it. The men alſo contributed, every one, ſome little preſent.

The whole city would have revolted immediately from the government, had not the decemvirs been actually commanding armies, and had not Valerius and Horatius (who managed this buſineſs, and who hoped to compaſs their point without effuſion of blood) thought it more adviſeable to wait and ſee what Virginius's return would produce, in the army near the Algidus.

He entered the camp, attended by near four hundred citizens, and ſtill holding in his hand the bloody knife with which he had killed his daughter. The ſoldiers, at this ſtrange ſight, flocked to him from all quarters. Virginius got upon a ſmall eminence, from whence he might the more eaſily be heard: his face was drowned in tears, and grief for a while tied his tongue. At length breaking his mournful ſilence, he related to them the whole tragical ſtory, and then raiſing his hands to heaven, "I call you to witneſs, immortal Gods! that "Appius alone is guilty of the bloody deed I was

"forced

" forced to commit. And you, my fellow-ſoldiers,
" I conjure you not to drive me out of your company
" as a parricide, and the murderer of my daughter.
" I would willingly have ſacrificed my own life to
" have preſerved her's, if ſhe could have lived with
" honour and liberty. But finding that the tyrant
" was determined to make her a ſlave, that he might
" have an opportunity to diſhonour her, pity alone
" made me cruel; I rather choſe to loſe my daughter,
" than keep her with ſhame; but I would not have
" outlived her one moment, had I not hoped to re-
" venge her death by your aſſiſtance."

The centurions and ſoldiers, filled with compaſſion for his misfortunes, and with indignation againſt the decemvir, all aſſured him that they would not fail him in any thing he ſhould undertake againſt Appius. They then reſolved to extend their reſentment to all the decemvirs, and to ſhake off the yoke of a dominion that was now grown into an avowed tyranny.

The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of Virginius's return, and of the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, ſent for him with deſign to ſecure him. No obedience was paid to their orders. The troops were all eager to return to Rome; nothing but the military oath withheld them. They thought they could not leave their generals without offending the gods and diſhonouring themſelves. Virginius, who burnt with impatience to revenge himſelf of Appius, quickly removed their ſcruple, by aſſuring them, that a Roman could never be under any obligation to obey uſurpers and tyrants; that the decemvirs were notoriouſly ſuch, and that therefore to ſubmit to them would not be obedience and piety, but madneſs and ſuperſtition. There needed no more to ſatisfy the conſcience of the ſoldiers. They immediately flew in a kind of fury to their arms, ſnatched up their enſigns, and under the conduct of their reſpective centurions, took the way to Rome. The decemvirs, ſtartled at ſo general a deſertion, ran to ſtop them: but wherever they turned themſelves, they found only exaſperated ſpirits, who

breathed nothing but vengeance. If the decemvirs ſpoke to them in gentle terms, they received no anſwer. If they pretended to threaten or command, the ſoldiers ſternly anſwered, "We are men, and have ſwords in "our hands."

The army entered Rome about evening, without making the leaſt diſturbance, and without ſo much as a ſoldier's ſtirring out of his rank. As they paſſed along, they aſſured their friends and relations, that they were returned only to deſtroy tyranny. All the troops marched quietly through the city to mount Aventine, fully reſolved not to ſeparate till they had obtained the depoſal of the decemvirs, and the reſtoration of the tribuneſhip.

Appius, terrified with remorſe of conſcience, and with the revolt of the army, durſt not appear in public. But Oppius, his collegue, had recourſe in this diſtreſs to the authority of the ſenate, which he convened with all expedition.

The ſenators thought it by no means adviſeable to proceed in a way of ſeverity, becauſe they themſelves had given occaſion to the ſedition. The reſult of their debate was to commiſſion Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, and P. Sulpitius, all three conſulars, to go to mount Aventine, and demand of the ſoldiers, "By whoſe orders "they had left their camp? What their intent was "in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount Aventine? And "why, quitting the war begun againſt the enemy, "they had invaded their own country?"

The ſoldiers did not want an anſwer, but they wanted a ſpeaker, for as yet they had not choſen themſelves a head; and no one man among them would venture to act as chief in this revolt. They remained for ſome time in ſilence, but at length they all cried with one voice, "Let Valerius and Horatius be ſent to us, we "will give an anſwer to the ſenate by them."

As ſoon as the three commiſſioners were gone, Virginius took notice to the ſoldiers how much they had been puzzled, even in an affair of no great importance, for want of a head; that the anſwer they had fallen upon,

upon, though pertinent enough, had proceeded rather from caſual agreement, than previous and public counſel; and he adviſed them therefore to chuſe ten perſons to be over them, and to manage for them. Inſtantly they named him the firſt to that honour, but he excuſed himſelf, deſiring them to reſerve their good opinion of him to happier times. "No honours, ſaid "he, can give me pleaſure while my daughter is unre- "venged, nor is it adviſeable for you, in ſuch a ſeaſon "of trouble as this, to chuſe thoſe men to be your "directors and agents, who are moſt obnoxious to the "parties you are to treat with. If you think me "capable of being uſeful to you, I ſhall not be leſs "ſo in a private capacity." The army thereupon appointed ten other centurions to be their governors, with the titles of military tribunes.

The example of this army was followed by that employed in the war againſt the Æqui: for Numitorius and Icilius had gone thither, and ſpirited up the ſoldiers to deſert their generals. With colours flying they marched ſtraight towards Rome, and having advice by the way, of the ſteps taken by the troops on mount Aventine, they in like manner, at the inſtigation of Icilius, (a man ſkilful in popular affairs), choſe themſelves ten military tribunes, to govern and conduct them *. Theſe troops entered the city, and marched through it in the ſame good order, and with the ſame peaceable behaviour, as had been obſerved by the others, whom they preſently after joined. And then the united armies commiſſioned their twenty military tribunes, to elect two out of their number to be ſupreme over all. The choice fell upon M. Oppius and Sextus Manilius. The

* What moved Icilius to give this counſel was an apprehenſion, that, without ſuch election, the ten tribunes of the other camp might be thought to have a kind of right, to be appointed the ten tribunes of the commons in the next comitia, that ſhould be held for naming thoſe magiſtrates, and he himſelf had a view to be one of the college.

The ſenate in the mean while, anxious for the commonwealth, ſat every day to conſider of ſome effectual remedy for the preſent evil. But the time which ſhould have been employed in ſage deliberation, was waſted in ſtrife and wrangling. At length it was concluded to ſend Valerius and Horatius to mount Aventine; but then theſe two ſenators, finding that their mediation was become neceſſary, proteſted that they would not move a ſtep as long as the decemvirs, whom they called uſurpers, remained maſters of the government.

The decemvirs, on the other hand, declared, that they would not reſign their authority till they had propoſed to the people the two laſt tables of laws, and had got them paſſed; and that this was the only term fixed for the expiration of their magiſtracy. Nay, L. Cornelius, yet a warm partiſan of the preſent governors, adviſed againſt entering into any negociation with the two armies, till they were returned to their former reſpective camps; upon which condition he was for offering the ſoldiers a general pardon, with an exception, however, to the authors of the deſertion.

The ſoldiers on mount Aventine, receiving accounts from M. Duilius (who had been formerly a tribune) of what paſſed in the ſenate, came to a reſolution to remove their camp to the Mons Sacer, a place, which would put the ſenators in mind of the ſteady reſolution of the commons, and make them ſenſible of the abſolute neceſſity of reſtoring the tribuneſhip, in order to a re-union. Thither they marched, fortified themſelves there, and obſerved the ſame good diſcipline for which their anceſtors had been ſo much admired. In this decampment they were followed by ſuch numbers of the citizens, with their wives and children, that Rome was in a manner deſerted: "What have we to "do, ſaid they, in a city where neither chaſtity nor "liberty is ſafe?" The conſcript fathers, aſtoniſhed, as they paſſed to the ſenate-houſe, to ſee the ſtreets ſo thin of people, and that, except a few old men, there was ſcarce any body in the Forum, came now for the moſt part into the ſentiment of Horatius and Valerius.

They

They declared that it was madneſs in the decemvirs, to think of retaining their authority, when they had no ſubjects to govern. "What! ſaid they, will you adminiſter juſtice to empty houſes and bare walls? Are you not aſhamed to ſee, that all the citizens in the Forum ſcarce equal the number of your lictors? In ſhort, you muſt reſolve either to have no commons, or to allow them tribunes. They extorted from our forefathers that plebeian magiſtracy, of which they had not then experienced the benefit; and do you imagine, that when they have taſted the ſweets of it, they will ever conſent to part with it, and eſpecially ſince your government has not been ſo moderate and gentle, as to make them feel no want of protection and ſuccour?"

The decemvirs, finding that there was no remedy, promiſed at length to be wholly governed by the ſenate; they only deſired, that they might not be ſacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, and reminded the fathers, that it concerned them nearly not to accuſtom the people to ſhed the blood of patricians.

Valerius and Horatius having brought this affair to the point they had wiſhed, repaired to the camp, and were received by the ſoldiers as their protectors. The army, by the mouth of Icilius, demanded the reſtoration of tribunes, and of their privilege of appeal, and an amneſty for all who had left the camp without permiſſion from their generals. But firſt of all they required, that the decemvirs ſhould be delivered into their hands; and they loudly threatened to burn them all alive.

The two mediators were not more favourable to thoſe magiſtrates than the people themſelves; but they proſecuted the deſign of deſtroying them with more art. At the ſame time that, in general terms, they exhorted the multitude not to be governed by cruel thoughts, (bidding them remember that they had more occaſion for a ſhield than a ſword), they inſinuated to them, that when they were in poſſeſſion again of their rights, and when their tribunes, their laws and aſſemblies were re-

ſtored to them, they would then have it in their power to do juſtice to themſelves.

The multitude, fully perſuaded, that no tribunes whatſoever could have more zeal for the intereſt of the commons than Valerius and Horatius, truſted every thing to their management; who returning without delay to the ſenate, reported the demands of the army; but ſaid nothing of its bloody deſigns againſt the decemvirs. Theſe magiſtrates hearing no mention of their puniſhments, readily yielded to all that was aſked; only Appius, cruel by nature, and judging of other men's hatred to him by his to them, ſaid aloud, "I am not "ignorant of the fate I am to expect. The attack is "only deferred till my enemies have got arms in their "hands. Nothing but my blood will ſatisfy their "malice. Be it ſo. I am ready, nevertheleſs, to "reſign the decemvirate, and I care not how ſoon I "do it." Hereupon the ſenate paſſed a decree, "That the decemvirs ſhould inſtantly depoſe themſelves; that the Pontifex Maximus ſhould hold the "comitia for electing tribunes, and that no notice "ſhould be hereafter taken of the deſertion of the "ſoldiers from their generals, and the retreat of the "citizens to the Mons Sacer." Submitting to this decree, the decemvirs immediately repaired to the Forum, and there abdicated their magiſtracy to the great joy of the city. The news of their abdication was preſently carried by Valerius and Horatius to the camp. "Return, ſoldiers, to your country, your houſhold-"gods, your wives and children; and may this re-"turn be happy to you and to the commonwealth!" Inſtantly the army ſnatched up their enſigns, and exulting with joy returned to Rome.

The Hiſtory of the Order of Jeſuits *.

THE year 1540 is rendered memorable by the eſtabliſhment of the order of jeſuits; a body whoſe influence hath been ſo conſiderable, that an account of the genius of its laws and government juſtly merits a place in hiſtory. When men take a view of the rapid progreſs of this ſociety towards wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it has been governed; when they attend to the perſevering and ſyſtematick ſpirit with which its ſchemes have been carried on; they are apt to aſcribe ſuch a ſingular inſtitution to the ſuperior wiſdom of its founder, and to ſuppoſe that he had formed and digeſted his plan with profound policy. But the jeſuits, as well as the other monaſtic orders, are indebted for the exiſtence of their order, not to the wiſdom of their founder, but to his enthuſiaſm. Ignatio Loyola, was a fanatick diſtinguiſhed by extravagancies in ſentiment and conduct, no leſs incompatible with the maxims of ſober reaſon, than repugnant to the ſpirit of true religion. The wild adventures, and viſionary ſchemes, in which his enthuſiaſm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romiſh ſaints; but are unworthy of notice in hiſtory.

Prompted by this fanatical ſpirit, or incited by the love of power and diſtinction, from which ſuch pretenders to ſuperior ſanctity are not exempt; Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan, which he formed of its conſtitution and laws, was ſuggeſted, as he gave out, and as his followers ſtill teach, by the immediate inſpiration of Heaven. But notwithſtanding this high pretenſion, his deſign met at firſt with violent oppoſition. The pope, to

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 444—459.

to whom Loyola had applied for the ſanction of his authority to confirm the inſtitution, referred his petition to a committee of cardinals. They repreſented the eſtabliſhment to be unneceſſary as well as dangerous, and Paul refuſed to grant his approbation of it. At laſt, Loyola removed all his ſcruples by an offer which it was impoſſible for any pope to reſiſt. He propoſed, that beſides the three vows of poverty, of chaſtity, and of monaſtic obedience, which are common to all the monaſtic orders, the members of his ſociety ſhould take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, binding themſelves to go whitherſoever he ſhould command for the ſervice of religion, and without requiring any thing from the holy ſee for their ſupport. At a time when the papal authority had received ſuch a ſhock by the revolt of ſo many nations from the Romiſh church; at a time when every part of the popiſh ſyſtem was attacked with ſo much violence and ſucceſs, the acquiſition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the ſee of Rome, and whom it might ſet in oppoſition to all its enemies, was an object of the higheſt conſequence. Paul, inſtantly perceiving this, confirmed the inſtitution of the jeſuits by his bull; granted the moſt ample privileges to the members of the ſociety; and appointed Loyola to be the firſt general of the order. The event hath fully juſtified Paul's diſcernment, in expecting ſuch beneficial conſequences to the ſee of Rome from this inſtitution. In leſs than half a century, the ſociety obtained eſtabliſhments in every country that adhered to the Roman Catholic church; its power and wealth increaſed amazingly; the number of its members became great; their character and accompliſhments were ſtill greater; and the jeſuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of the Romiſh faith, as the moſt able and enterprizing order in the church.

The conſtitution and laws of the ſociety were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who ſucceeded Loyola, men far ſuperior to their maſter in abilities, and in the ſcience of government. They framed

framed that ſyſtem of profound and artful policy which diſtinguiſhes the order. The large infuſion of fanaticiſm, mingled with its regulations, ſhould be imputed to Loyola its founder. Many circumſtances concurred in giving a peculiarity of character to the order of jeſuits, and in forming the members of it not only to take greater part in the affairs of the world than any body of monks, but to acquire ſuperior influence in the conduct of them.

The primary object of almoſt all the monaſtic orders is to ſeparate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the ſolitude and ſilence of the cloiſter, the monk is called to work out his own ſalvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its tranſactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind, but by his example and his prayers. On the contrary, the jeſuits are taught to conſider themſelves as formed for action. They are choſen ſoldiers, bound to exert themſelves continually in the ſervice of God, and of the pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to inſtruct the ignorant; whatever can be of uſe to reclaim or to oppoſe the enemies of the holy ſee, is their proper object. That they may have full leiſure for this active ſervice, they are totally exempted from thoſe functions, the performance of which is the chief buſineſs of other monks. They appear in no proceſſions; they practiſe no rigorous auſterities; they do not conſume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices. But they are required to attend to all the tranſactions of the world, on account of the influence which theſe may have on religion; they are directed to ſtudy the diſpoſitions of perſons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendſhip; and by the very conſtitution as well as genius of the order, a ſpirit of action and of intrigue is infuſed into all its members.

As the object of the ſociety of jeſuits differed from that of the other monaſtic orders, the diverſity was no leſs in the form of its government. The other orders are to be conſidered as voluntary aſſociations, in which whatever

whatever affects the whole body, is regulated by the common ſuffrage of all its members. The executive power is veſted in the perſons placed at the head of each convent, or of the whole ſociety; the legiſlative authority reſides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters; ſuch as reſpect the whole order are conſidered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, which he had derived from his military profeſſion, appointed that the government of his order ſhould be purely monarchical. A general choſen for life by the deputies from the ſeveral provinces, poſſeſſed power that was ſupreme and independent, extending to every perſon, and to every caſe. He, by his ſole authority, nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the ſociety, and could remove them at pleaſure. In him was veſted the ſovereign adminiſtration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his diſpoſal; and by his uncontroulable mandate, he could impoſe on them any taſk, or employ them in what ſervice ſoever he pleaſed. To his commands they were required to yield not only outward obedience, but to reſign up to him the inclinations of their own wills, and the ſentiments of their own underſtandings. They were to liſten to his injunctions, as if they had been uttered by Chriſt himſelf. Under his direction, they were to be mere paſſive inſtruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or like dead carcaſes incapable of reſiſtance. Such a ſingular form of policy could not fail to impreſs its character on all the members of the order, and to give a peculiar force to all its operations. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of ſuch a perfect deſpotiſm, exerciſed not over monks ſhut up in the cells of a convent, but over men diſperſed among all the nations of the earth.

As the conſtitutions of the order veſt, in the general, ſuch abſolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provide for his being perfectly informed with reſpect

ſpect to the character and abilities of his ſubjects. Every novice who offers himſelf as a candidate for entering into the order, is obliged to manifeſt his conſcience to the ſuperior, or to a perſon appointed by him; and is required to confeſs not only his ſins and defects, but to diſcover the inclinations, the paſſions, and the bent of his ſoul. This manifeſtation muſt be renewed every ſix months. The ſociety, not ſatisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermoſt receſſes of the heart, directs each member to obſerve the words and actions of the novices; they are conſtituted ſpies upon their conduct, and are bound to diſcloſe every thing of importance concerning them to the ſuperior. In order that this ſcrutiny into their character may be as complete as poſſible, a long noviciate muſt expire; during which, they paſs through the ſeveral gradations of ranks in the ſociety, and they muſt have attained the full age of thirty-three years, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become profeſſed members. By theſe various methods, the ſuperiors, under whoſe immediate inſpection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their diſpoſitions and talents. In order that the general, who is the ſoul that animates and moves the whole ſociety, may have under his eye every thing neceſſary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the ſeveral houſes are obliged to tranſmit to him, regular, and frequent reports concerning the members under their inſpection. In theſe, they deſcend into minute details with reſpect to the character of each perſon, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he is beſt fitted. Theſe reports, when digeſted and arranged, are entered into regiſters, kept on purpoſe that the general may, at one comprehenſive view, ſurvey the ſtate of the ſociety in every corner of the earth; obſerve the qualifications and talents of the members; and thus chuſe, with perfect information, the inſtruments, which his abſolute power can employ in any ſervice for which he thinks meet to deſtine them.

As it was the profeſſed intention of the order of jeſuits, to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the ſalvation of men; this engaged them, of courſe, in many active functions. From their firſt inſtitution, they conſidered the education of youth as their peculiar province, they aimed at being ſpiritual guides and confeſſors; they preached frequently, in order to inſtruct the people; they ſet out as miſſionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the inſtitution, as well as the ſingularity of its objects, procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the ſociety had the addreſs to avail themſelves of every circumſtance in its favour; and in a ſhort time, the number, as well as influence of its members increaſed wonderfully. Before the expiration of the ſixteenth century, the jeſuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholic country in Europe. They had become the confeſſors of almoſt all its monarchs, a function of no ſmall importance in any reign, but under a weak prince, ſuperior even to that of a miniſter. They were the ſpiritual guides of almoſt every perſon eminent for rank or power. They poſſeſſed the higheſt degree of confidence and intereſt with the papal court, as the moſt zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterprizing body of men might derive from all theſe circumſtances are obvious. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an aſcendant over them in their advanced years. They poſſeſſed, at different periods, the direction of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The general, by means of the extenſive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the moſt perfect diſcernment, and by means of his abſolute power, could carry them on with the utmoſt vigour and effect.

Together with the power of the order, its wealth continued to increaſe. Various expedients were deviſed

viſed for eluding the obligation of the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample poſſeſſions in every catholic country; and by the number as well as magnificence of its public buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the moſt opulent of the monaſtic fraternities. Beſides the ſources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the jeſuits poſſeſſed one which was peculiar to themſelves. Under pretext of promoting the ſucceſs of their miſſions, and of facilitating the ſupport of their miſſionaries, they obtained a ſpecial licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In conſequence of this, they engaged in an extenſive and lucrative commerce, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. They opened ware-houſes in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not ſatisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial ſocieties, and aimed at obtaining ſettlements. They acquired poſſeſſion accordingly of a large and fertile province in the ſouthern continent of America, and reigned as ſovereigns over ſome hundred thouſand ſubjects.

Unhappily for mankind, the vaſt influence which the order of jeſuits acquired by all theſe different means, has been often exerted with the moſt pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that diſcipline obſerved by the ſociety in forming its members, and ſuch the fundamental maxims in its conſtitution; that every jeſuit was taught to regard the intereſt of the order as the capital object, to which every conſideration was to be ſacrificed. This ſpirit of attachment to their order, the moſt ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men, is the characteriſtic principle of the jeſuits, and ſerves as a key to the genius of their policy, and to the peculiarities in their ſentiments and conduct.

As it was for the honour and advantage of the ſociety, that its members ſhould poſſeſs an aſcendant over perſons in high rank or of great power, the deſire of acquiring and preſerving ſuch a direction of their conduct, with greater facility, has led the jeſuits to propagate

propagate a ſyſtem of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itſelf to the paſſions of men, which juſtifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almoſt every action that the moſt audacious or crafty politician would wiſh to perpetrate.

As the proſperity of the order was intimately connected with the preſervation of the papal authority, the jeſuits influenced by the ſame principle of attachment to the intereſts of their ſociety, have been the moſt zealous patrons of thoſe doctrines, which tend to exalt eccleſiaſtical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome, a juriſdiction as extenſive and abſolute as was claimed by the moſt preſumptuous pontiffs in the dark ages. They have contended for the entire independence of Eccleſiaſtics on the civil magiſtrate. They have publiſhed ſuch tenets concerning the duty of oppoſing princes who were enemies of the catholic faith, as countenanced the moſt atrocious crimes, and tended to diſſolve all the ties which connect ſubjects with their rulers.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it ſtood forth in defence of the Romiſh church againſt the attacks of the reformers, its members, proud of this diſtinction, have conſidered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions and to check the progreſs of the proteſtants. They have made uſe of every art, and have employed every weapon againſt them. They have ſet themſelves in oppoſition to every gentle or tolerating meaſure in their favour. They have inceſſantly ſtirred up againſt them all the rage of eccleſiaſtical and civil perſecution.

Monks of other denominations have, indeed, ventured to teach the ſame pernicious doctrines, and have held opinions equally inconſiſtent with the order and happineſs of civil ſociety. But they, from reaſons which are obvious, have either delivered ſuch opinions with greater reſerve, or have propagated them with leſs ſucceſs. Whoever recollects the events which have happened in Europe during two centuries, will find that

that the jeſuits may juſtly be conſidered as reſponſible for moſt of the pernicious effects ariſing from that corrupted and dangerous caſuiſtry, from thoſe extravagant tenets concerning eccleſiaſtical power, and from that intolerant ſpirit, which have been the diſgrace of the church of Rome throughout that period, and which have brought ſo many calamities upon civil ſociety.

But amidſt many bad conſequences flowing from the inſtitution of this order, mankind, it muſt be acknowledged, have derived from it ſome conſiderable advantages. As the jeſuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their firſt attempts to eſtabliſh colleges for the reception of ſtudents were violently oppoſed by the univerſities in different countries, it became neceſſary for them, as the moſt effectual method of acquiring the public favour, to ſurpaſs their rivals in ſcience and induſtry. This prompted them to cultivate, with great ardour, the ſtudy of ancient literature. This put them upon various methods for facilitating the inſtruction of youth; and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed not a little towards the progreſs of polite learning, and have, on this account, merited well of ſociety. Nor has the order of jeſuits been ſucceſsful only in teaching the elements of literature; it has produced likewiſe eminent maſters in many branches of ſcience, and can alone boaſt of a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together. *

But

* M. D'Alembert has obſerved, that though the jeſuits have made extraordinary progreſs in erudition of every ſpecies, though they can reckon up many of their brethren who have been eminent mathematicians, antiquarians, and critics; though they have even formed ſome orators of reputation; yet the order has never produced one man, whoſe mind was ſo much enlightened with ſound knowledge as to merit the name of a philoſopher. But it ſeems to be the unavoidable effect of monaſtic education to contract and fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the intereſt of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other

But it is in the new world that the Jeſuits have exhibited the moſt wonderful diſplay of their abilities, and have contributed moſt effectually to the benefit of the human ſpecies. The conquerors of that unfortunate quarter of the globe had nothing in view, but to plunder, to enſlave, and to exterminate its inhabitants. The jeſuits alone have made humanity the object of their ſettling there. About the beginning of the laſt century, they obtained admiſſion into the fertile province of Paraguay, which ſtretches acroſs the ſouthern continent of America, from the bottom of the mountains of Potoſi, to the confines of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſettlements on the banks of the river de la Plata. They found the inhabitants in a ſtate, little different from that which takes place among men, when they firſt begin to unite together; ſtrangers to the arts; ſubſiſting precariouſly by hunting or fiſhing; and ſcarce acquainted with the firſt principles of ſubordination and government. The jeſuits ſet themſelves to inſtruct and civilize theſe ſavages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houſes. They brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taſte the ſweets of ſociety, and accuſtomed them to the bleſſings of ſecurity and order. Theſe people became the ſubjects of their benefactors; who have governed them, with a tender attention, reſembling that, with which a father directs his children. Reſpected and beloved almoſt to adoration, a few jeſuits preſided

---

citizens; the habit of implicit obedience to the will of a ſuperior, together with the frequent return of the weariſome and frivolous duties of the cloiſter, debaſe his faculties, and extinguiſh that generoſity of ſentiment and ſpirit, which qualifies men for thinking or feeling juſtly with reſpect to what is proper in life and conduct. Father Paul of Venice is, perhaps, the only perſon educated in a cloiſter, that ever was altogether ſuperior to its prejudices, or who viewed the tranſactions of men, and reaſoned concerning the intereſts of ſociety, with the enlarged ſentiments of a philoſopher, with the diſcernment of a man converſant in affairs, and with the liberality of a gentleman.

preſided over ſome hundred thouſand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour, not for himſelf alone, but for the public. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits of their induſtry of every ſpecies, were depoſited in common ſtore-houſes, from which each individual received every thing neceſſary for the ſupply of his wants. By this inſtitution, almoſt all the paſſions which diſturb the peace of ſociety, and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguiſhed. A few magiſtrates, choſen by the Indians themſelves, watched over the public tranquillity, and ſecured obedience to the laws. The ſanguinary puniſhments frequent under other governments, were unknown. An admonition from a jeſuit; a ſlight mark of infamy; or, on ſome ſingular occaſion, a few laſhes with a whip, were ſufficient to maintain good order among theſe innocent and happy people.

But even in this meritorious effort of the jeſuits for the good of mankind, the genius and ſpirit of their order have mingled, and are diſcernible. They plainly aimed at eſtabliſhing in Paraguay, an independent empire, ſubject to the ſociety alone; and which, by the ſuperior excellence of its conſtitution and police, could ſcarce have failed to extend its dominion over all the ſouthern continent of America. With this view, in order to prevent the Spaniards or Portugueſe in the adjacent ſettlements, from acquiring any influence over the people whom they governed that might be dangerous, the jeſuits endeavoured to inſpire the Indians with hatred and contempt of theſe nations. They cut off all intercourſe between their ſubjects and the Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſettlements. They prohibited any private trader of either nation from entering their territories. When they were obliged to admit any perſon in a public character from the neighbouring governments, they did not permit him to have any converſation with their ſubjects; and no Indian was allowed even to enter the houſe where theſe ſtrangers reſided, unleſs in

the preſence of a jeſuit. In order to render any communication between them as difficult as poſſible, they induſtriouſly avoided giving the Indians any knowledge of the Spaniſh, or of any other European language; but encouraged the different tribes, which they had civilized, to acquire a certain dialect of the Indian tongue, and laboured to make that the univerſal language throughout their dominions. As all theſe precautions, without military force, would have been inſufficient, to have rendered their empire ſecure and permanent, they inſtructed their ſubjects in the European arts of war. They formed them into bodies of cavalry and infantry, completely armed and regularly diſciplined. They provided a great train of artillery, as well as magazines ſtored with all the implements of war. Thus they eſtabliſhed an army ſo numerous and well appointed, as to be formidable in a country, where a few ſickly and ill-diſciplined battalions compoſed all the military force kept on foot by the Spaniards and Portugueſe.

Of COLUMBUS, *and the Diſcovery of* America.*

IT is to the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe in the old world, that we are indebted for the new, if we may call the conqueſt of America an obligation, which proved ſo fatal to its inhabitants, and at times to the conquerors themſelves.

This was doubtleſs the moſt important event that ever happened on our globe, one half of which had been hitherto ſtrangers to the other. Whatever had been eſteemed moſt great or noble before, ſeemed abſorbed in this kind of new creation. We ſtill mention with reſpectful admiration the names of the Argonauts, who did

* Voltaire's Hiſt. Works, vol. iv. p. 183—198.

did not perform the hundredth part of what was done by the ſailors under Gama and Albuquerque. How many altars would have been raiſed by the antients to a Greek who had diſcovered America! and yet Bartholomew and Chriſtopher Columbus were not thus rewarded.

Columbus, ſtruck with the wonderful expeditions of the Portugueſe, imagined that ſomething greater might be done; and from a bare inſpection of the map of our world, concluded that there muſt be another, which might be found by ſailing always weſt. He had courage equal to his genius, or indeed ſuperior, ſeeing he had to ſtruggle with the prejudices of his contemporaries, and the repulſes of ſeveral princes to whom he tendered his ſervices. Genoa, which was his native country, treated his ſchemes as viſionary, and by that means, loſt the only opportunity that could have offered of aggrandizing her power. Henry VII. king of England, who was too greedy of money to hazard any on this noble attempt, would not liſten to the propoſals made by Columbus's brother; and Columbus himſelf was rejected by John II. of Portugal, whoſe attention was wholly employed upon the coaſt of Africa. He had no proſpect of ſucceſs in applying to the French, whoſe marine lay totally neglected, and their affairs more confuſed than ever, during the minority of Charles VIII. The emperor Maximilian had neither ports for ſhipping, money to fit out a fleet, nor ſufficient courage to engage in a ſcheme of this nature. The Venetians, indeed, might have undertaken it; but whether the natural averſion of the Genoeſe to theſe people, would not ſuffer Columbus to apply to the rivals of his country, or that the Venetians had no idea of any thing more important than the trade they carried on from Alexandria and in the Levant; Columbus at length fixed all his hopes on the court of Spain.

Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Iſabella queen of Caſtile, had by their marriage united all Spain under one dominion, excepting only the kingdom of Grenada, which was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Moors; but which Ferdinand ſoon after took from them. The

union of theſe two princes had prepared the way for the greatneſs of Spain, which was afterwards begun by Columbus; he was, however, obliged to undergo eight years of inceſſant application before Iſabella's court would conſent to accept of the ineſtimable benefit this great man offered it. The bane of all great projects is the want of money. The Spaniſh court was poor; and the prior Perez, and two merchants named Pinzono, were obliged to advance ſeventeen thouſand ducats towards fitting out the armament. Columbus procured a patent from the court, and at length ſet ſail from the port of Palos in Andaluſia, with three ſhips, on Auguſt 23, in the year 1492.

It was not above a month after his departure from the Canary iſlands, where he had come to an anchor to get refreſhment, when Columbus diſcovered the firſt iſland in America; and during this ſhort run, he ſuffered more from the murmurings and diſcontent of the people of his fleet, than he had done even from the refuſals of the princes he had applied to. This iſland, which he diſcovered, and named St. Salvador, lies about a thouſand leagues from the Canaries; preſently after he likewiſe diſcovered the Lucayan iſlands, together with thoſe of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, now called St. Domingo.

Ferdinand and Iſabella were in the utmoſt ſurprize to ſee him return at the end of nine months, with ſome of the American natives of Hiſpaniola, ſeveral rarities from that country, and a quantity of gold, with which he preſented their majeſties.

The king and queen made him ſit down in their preſence, covered like a grandee of Spain, and created him high-admiral and viceroy of the new world. Columbus was now every where looked upon as an extraordinary perſon ſent from heaven. Every one was vyeing who ſhould be foremoſt in aſſiſting him in his undertakings, and embarking under his command. He ſoon ſet ſail again, with a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips. He now made the diſcovery of ſeveral other new iſlands, particularly the Caribbees and Jamaica. Doubt had

had been changed into admiration on his firſt voyage; in this, admiration was turned into envy.

He was admiral and viceroy, and to theſe titles might have been added that of the benefactor of Ferdinand and Iſabella. Nevertheleſs, he was brought home priſoner to Spain, by judges who had been purpoſely ſent out on board to obſerve his conduct. As ſoon as it was known that Columbus was arrived, the people ran in ſhoals to meet him, as the guardian genius of Spain. Columbus was brought from the ſhip, and appeared on ſhore chained hands and feet.

He had been thus treated by the orders of Fonſeca, biſhop of Burgos, the intendant of the expedition, whoſe ingratitude was as great as the other's ſervices. Iſabella was aſhamed of what ſhe ſaw, and did all in her power to make Columbus amends for the injuries done to him; however, he was not ſuffered to depart for four years, either becauſe they feared that he would ſeize upon what he had diſcovered for himſelf, or that they were willing to have time to obſerve his behaviour. At length, he was ſent on another voyage to the new world; and now it was, that he diſcovered the continent at ſix degrees diſtance from the Equator, and ſaw that part of the coaſt on which Carthagena has been ſince built.

At the time that Columbus firſt promiſed a new hemiſphere, it was inſiſted upon that no ſuch hemiſphere could exiſt; and after he had made the actual diſcovery of it, it was pretended that it had been known long before. I ſhall not mention one Martin Behem of Nuremberg, who, it is ſaid, went from that city to the ſtraits of Magellan in 1460, with a patent from the dutcheſs of Burgundy, who, as ſhe was not alive at that time, could not iſſue patents. Nor ſhall I take notice of the pretended charts of this Martin Behem, which are ſtill ſhewn; nor of the evident contradictions which diſcredit this ſtory: but, in ſhort, it was not pretended, that Martin Behem had peopled America; the honour was given to the Carthaginians, and a book of Ariſtotle's was quoted on the occaſion, which,

he never wrote. Some found out a conformity between ſome words in the Caribbee and Hebrew languages, and did not fail to follow ſo fine an opening. Others were poſitive that the children of Noah, after ſettling in Siberia, paſſed from thence over to Canada on the ice, and that their deſcendants, afterwards born in Canada, had gone and peopled Peru. According to others again, the Chineſe and Japaneſe ſent colonies into America, and carried over lions with them for their diverſion, though there are no lions either in China or Japan. In this manner have many learned men argued upon the diſcoveries made by men of genius. If it ſhould be aſked how men firſt came upon the continent of America? Is it not eaſily anſwered, that they were placed there by the ſame power who cauſes trees and graſs to grow?

The reply which Columbus made to ſome of thoſe who envied him the high reputation he had gained, is ſtill famous. Theſe people pretended, that nothing could be more eaſy than the diſcoveries he had made; upon which he propoſed to them to ſet an egg upright on one of its ends; but when they had tried in vain to do it, he broke one end of the egg, and ſet it upright with eaſe. They told him any one could do that; How comes it then, replied Columbus, that no one among you thought of it? This ſtory is related of Brunelleſchi, who improved architecture at Florence many years before Columbus was born. Moſt bon-mots are only the repetition of things that have been ſaid before.

The aſhes of Columbus cannot be affected with the reputation he gained while living, in having doubled for us the works of the creation. But mankind delight to do juſtice to the illuſtrious dead, either from a vain hope that they enhance thereby the merit of the living, or that they are naturally fond of truth. Americo Veſpucci, whom we call Americus Veſpuſius, a merchant of Florence, had the honour of giving his name to this new half of the globe, in which he did not poſſeſs one acre of land, and pretended to be the firſt who diſcovered the continent. But ſuppoſing it true, that

he

he was the firſt diſcoverer, the glory was certainly due to him, who had the penetration and courage to undertake and perform the firſt voyage: Honour, as Newton ſays in his diſpute with Leibnitz, is due only to the firſt inventor; thoſe that follow after are only his ſcholars. Columbus had made three voyages as admiral and viceroy, five years before Americus Veſpuſius had made one as a geographer, under the command of admiral Ojeda; but this latter, writing to his friends at Florence that he had diſcovered a new world, they believed him on his word, and the citizens of Florence decreed, that a grand illumination ſhould be made before the door of his houſe every three years, on the feaſt of All-Saints. And yet, could this man be ſaid to deſerve any honours, for happening to be on board a fleet that in 1489 ſailed along the coaſt of Braſil, when Columbus had, five years before, pointed out the way to the reſt of the world?

There has lately appeared at Florence, a life of this Americus Veſpuſius, which ſeems to be written with very little regard to truth, and without any concluſive reaſoning. Several French authors are there complained of, who have done juſtice to Columbus's merit; but the writer ſhould not have fallen upon the French authors, but on the Spaniſh, who were the firſt that did this juſtice. This writer ſays, that "he will "confound the vanity of the French nation, who "have always attacked with impunity the honour and "ſucceſs of the Italian nation." What vanity can there be in ſaying, that it was a Genoeſe who firſt diſcovered America? Or how is the honour of the Italian nation injured in owning, that it was to an Italian, born in Genoa, that we are indebted for the new world? I purpoſely remark this want of equity, good breeding, and good ſenſe, as we have too many examples of it; and I muſt ſay, that the good French writers have in general been the leaſt guilty of this inſufferable fault; and one great reaſon of their being ſo univerſally read throughout Europe, is their doing juſtice to all nations.

The inhabitants of theſe iſlands, and of the continent, were a new race of them. They were all without beards, and were as much aſtoniſhed at the faces of the Spaniards, as they were at their ſhips and artillery: they at firſt looked upon theſe new viſiters as monſters, or gods, who had come out of the ſky, or the ſea. Theſe voyages, and thoſe of the Portugueſe, had now taught us how inconſiderable a ſpot of the globe our Europe was, and what an aſtoniſhing variety reigns in the world. Indoſtan was known to be inhabited by a race of men whoſe complexions were yellow. In Africa and Aſia, at ſome diſtance from the equator, there had been found ſeveral kinds of black men; and after travellers had penetrated into America as far as the line, they met with a race of people who were tolerably white. The natives of Brazil are of the colour of bronze. The Chineſe ſtill appear to differ entirely from the reſt of mankind, in the make of their eyes and noſes. But what is ſtill to be remarked is, that into whatſoever regions theſe various races are tranſplanted, their complexions never change, unleſs they mingle with the natives of the country. The mucous membrane of the negroes, which is known to be of a black colour, is a manifeſt proof, that there is a differential principle in each ſpecies of men, as well as plants.

Dependant upon this principle, nature has formed the different degrees of genius, and the characters of nations, which are ſeldom known to change. Hence the negroes are ſlaves to other men, and are purchaſed on the coaſt of Africa like beaſts, for a ſum of money; and the vaſt multitudes of negroes tranſplanted into our American colonies, ſerve as ſlaves under a very inconſiderable number of Europeans. Experience has likewiſe taught us how great a ſuperiority the Europeans have over the Americans, who are every where eaſily overcome, and have not dared to attempt a revolution, though a thouſand to one ſuperior in numbers.

This part of America was alſo remarkable on account of its animals and plants, which are not to be found

found in the other three parts of the world, and which are of ſo great uſe to us. Horſes, corn of all kinds, and iron, were not wanting in Mexico and Peru, and among the many valuable commodities unknown to the old world, cochineal was the principal, and was brought us from this country. Its uſe in dying has now made us forget the ſcarlet, which for time immemorial had been the only thing known for giving a fine red colour.

The importation of cochineal was ſoon ſucceeded by that of indigo, cacao, vanille, and thoſe woods which ſerve for ornament and medicinal purpoſes, particularly the quinquina, or jeſuit's bark, which is the only ſpecific againſt intermitting fevers. Nature has placed this remedy in the mountains of Peru, whilſt ſhe had diſperſed the diſeaſe it cured through all the reſt of the world. This new continent likewiſe furniſhed pearls, coloured ſtones, and diamonds.

It is certain, that America at preſent furniſhes the meaneſt citizen of Europe with his conveniences and pleaſures. The gold and ſilver mines, at their firſt diſcovery, were of ſervice only to the kings of Spain and the merchants; the reſt of the world was impoveriſhed by them, for the great multitudes who did not follow buſineſs, found themſelves poſſeſſed of a very ſmall quantity of ſpecie, in compariſon with the immenſe ſums accumulated by thoſe, who had the advantage of the firſt diſcoveries. But by degrees the great quantity of gold and ſilver which was ſent from America was diſperſed throughout all Europe, and by paſſing into a number of hands, the diſtribution is become more equal. The price of commodities is likewiſe encreaſed in Europe, in proportion to the increaſe of ſpecie.

To comprehend how the treaſures of America paſſed from the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards into that of other nations, it will be ſufficient to conſider theſe two things: the uſe which Charles V. and Philip II. made of their money; and the manner, in which other nations acquired a ſhare in the mines of Peru.

The Emperor Charles V. who was always travelling, and always at war, neceſſarily diſperſed a great quantity of that ſpecie which he received from Mexico and Peru, through Germany and Italy. When he ſent his ſon Philip over to England, to marry queen Mary, and take upon him the title of king of England, that prince depoſited in the Tower of London twenty-ſeven large cheſts of ſilver in bars, and an hundred horſe-loads of gold and ſilver coin. The troubles in Flanders, and the intrigues of the league in France, coſt this Philip, according to his own confeſſion, above three thouſand millions of livres of our money.

The manner in which the gold and ſilver of Peru is diſtributed amongſt all the people of Europe, and from thence is ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, is a ſurprizing, though well known circumſtance. By a ſtrict law enacted by Ferdinand and Iſabella, and afterwards confirmed by Charles V. and all the kings of Spain, all other nations were not only excluded the entrance into any of the ports in Spaniſh America, but likewiſe from having the leaſt ſhare, directly or indirectly, in the trade of that part of the world. One would have imagined, that this law would have enabled the Spaniards to ſubdue all Europe; and yet Spain ſubſiſts only by the continual violation of this very law. It can hardly furniſh exports for America to the value of four millions; whereas the reſt of Europe ſometimes ſend over merchandize to the amount of near fifty millions. This prodigious trade of the nations at enmity or in alliance with Spain, is carried on by the Spaniards themſelves, who are always faithful in their dealings with individuals, and always cheating their king. The Spaniards give no ſecurity to foreign merchants for the performance of their contracts; a mutual credit, without which there never could have been any commerce, ſupplies the place of other obligations.

The manner in which the Spaniards for a long time conſigned the gold and ſilver to foreigners, which was brought home by their galleons, was ſtill more ſurprizing. The Spaniard, who at Cadiz, is properly factor

factor for the foreigner, delivered the bullion he received to the care of certain bravoes, called Meteors. Theſe, armed with piſtols at their belt and a long ſword, carried the bullion in parcels properly marked to the ramparts, and flung them over to other meteors, who waited below and carried them to the boats which were to receive them, and theſe boats carried them on board the ſhips in the road. Theſe meteors and the factors, together with the commiſſaries and the guards, who never diſturbed them, had each a ſtated fee, and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The king, who received a duty upon this money at the arrival of the galleons, was likewiſe a gainer. So that, properly ſpeaking, the law only was cheated; a law, which would be abſolutely uſeleſs, if not eluded, and which, nevertheleſs, cannot yet be abrogated, becauſe old prejudices are always the moſt difficult to be overcome amongſt men.

The greateſt inſtance of the violation of this law, and of the fidelity of the Spaniards, was in the year 1684, when war was declared between France and Spain. His catholic majeſty endeavoured to ſeize upon the effects of all the French in his kingdom; but he in vain iſſued edicts and admonitions, enquiries and excommunications, not a ſingle Spaniſh factor would betray his French correſpondent. This fidelity, which does ſo much honour to the Spaniſh nation, plainly ſhews, that men only willingly obey thoſe laws, which they themſelves have made for the good of ſociety, and that thoſe which are the mere effects of a ſovereign's will, always meet with oppoſition.

As the diſcovery of America was at firſt the ſource of much good to the Spaniards, it afterwards occaſioned them many and conſiderable evils. One has been, the depriving that kingdom of its ſubjects, by the great numbers neceſſarily required to people the colonies; another was, the infecting the world with a diſeaſe, which was before known only in the new world, and particularly in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Several of the companions of Chriſtopher Columbus returned

returned home infected with this contagion, which afterwards ſpread over Europe. It is certain, that this poiſon, which taints the ſprings of life, was peculiar to America, as the plague and ſmall-pox were diſeaſes originally endemial to the ſouthern parts of Numidia. We are not to believe, that the eating of human fleſh, practiſed by ſome of the American ſavages, occaſioned this diſorder. There were no cannibals on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, where it was moſt frequent and inveterate; neither are we to ſuppoſe, with ſome, that it proceeded from too great an exceſs of ſenſual pleaſures. Nature had never puniſhed exceſſes of this kind with ſuch diſorders in the world; and, even to this day, we find that a momentary indulgence, which has been paſſed for eight or ten years, may bring this cruel and ſhameful ſcourge upon the chaſteſt union.

The great Columbus, after having built ſeveral houſes on theſe iſlands, and diſcovered the continent, returned to Spain, where he enjoyed a reputation, unſullied by rapine or cruelty, and died at Valladolid in 1506. But the governors of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, who ſucceeded him, being perſuaded that theſe provinces furniſhed gold, reſolved to make the diſcovery at the price of the lives of the inhabitants. In ſhort, whether they thought the natives had conceived an implacable hatred to them, or that they were apprehenſive of their ſuperior numbers; or that the rage of ſlaughter, when once begun, knows no bounds, they in the ſpace of a few years entirely depopulated Hiſpaniola and Cuba, the former of which contained three millions of inhabitants, and the latter above ſix hundred thouſand.

Bartholomew de las Caſas, biſhop of Chiapa, who was an eye witneſs to theſe deſolations, relates that they hunted down the natives with dogs. Theſe wretched ſavages, almoſt naked and without arms, were purſued like wild beaſts in a foreſt, devoured alive by dogs, ſhot to death, or ſurprized and burnt in their habitations.

He

He farther declares, from ocular teſtimony, that they frequently cauſed a number of theſe miſerable wretches to be ſummoned by a prieſt to come in, and ſubmit to the Chriſtian religion, and to the king of Spain, and that after this ceremony, which was only an additional act of injuſtice, they put them to death without the leaſt remorſe. I believe that las Caſas has exaggerated in many parts of his relation; but, allowing him to have ſaid ten times more than is truth, there remains enough to make us ſhudder with horror.

It may ſeem ſurprizing, that this maſſacre of a whole race of men could have been carried on in the ſight, and under the adminiſtration of ſeveral religious of the order of St. Jerome; for we know that cardinal Ximenes, who was prime miniſter of Caſtile, before the time of Charles V. ſent over four monks of this order, in quality of preſidents of the royal council of the iſland. Doubtleſs they were not able to reſiſt the torrent, and the hatred of the natives to their new maſters, being with juſt reaſon become implacable, rendered their deſtruction unhappily neceſſary.

Of the Voyage round the World by Commodore ANSON *.

WHenever France or Spain happens to be at war with England, the ſhock given to Europe is felt at the extremities of the earth. If the induſtry and boldneſs of the modern nations of Europe give them an advantage over the reſt of the world, and over the ancients in general, it is owing to their maritime expeditions. Men are not as much ſurprized as perhaps they ſhould be, when they ſee come out of the ports of a few inconſiderable provinces unknown to the civilized nations of antiquity, fleets of ſuch a conſtruction, that a ſingle

* Voltaire's Hiſt. Works, vol. viii. p. 45—53.

a ſingle veſſel of them would have utterly deſtroyed all the ſhipping of the ancient Greeks and Romans. On the one hand, theſe fleets go beyond the Ganges, in order to engage each other in the view of the moſt powerful empires, who ſtand by the unconcerned ſpectators of the dire effects of an art which they have not hitherto acquired: on the other, they go beyond America, to contend with each other for ſlaves in the new world.

The ſucceſs is rarely proportionable to the greatneſs of theſe enterprizes, not only becauſe it is impoſſible to ſee all the obſtacles which may ariſe, but becauſe adequate means are ſcarce ever made uſe of.

Admiral Anſon's expedition proves, how much a man of ſenſe and reſolution may perform; though his preparations may be very unadequate to the danger of his undertaking.

Before ſo many nations had engaged in a war, in order to decide whether the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. ſhould ſucceed her father, there ſubſiſted a war between Spain and England about a ſhip: that war coſt both parties a thouſand times more than the worth of what had given riſe to it.

The miniſtry of London, in the year 1739, ſent admiral Vernon to Mexico: he there deſtroyed Porto-Bello, but he failed in his attempt upon Carthagena. It was intended at the ſame time, that George Anſon ſhould fall upon Peru by the South-ſea, in order, if poſſible, to ruin, or at leaſt to weaken the vaſt empire which Spain had acquired in that part of the world, by both ends. Anſon was created commodore, that is, commander of a ſquadron; there were given to him five veſſels, a ſort of a ſmall frigate of eight guns, with about one hundred men on board, and two ſhips loaded with proviſions and merchandize; theſe two ſhips were intended to carry on commerce under the protection of the convoy; for it is peculiar to the Engliſh nation to mix traffic with warlike operations. Aboard the ſquadron were fourteen hundred ſea-men, amongſt whom there were no more than two hundred

and

and ſixty invalids, and two hundred recruits. He ſteers his courſe to the iſland of Madeira, which belongs to Portugal; he advances to the iſles of Cape Verde, and ſails by the coaſt of Brazil. His crew refreſhed themſelves in a little iſland, named St. Catharine, which is covered with never-fading verdure, and abounds with fruit through every ſeaſon of the year: this iſland is twenty-ſeven degrees beyond the tropic of Cancer. The commodore, after having coaſted along the cold and uncultivated country of Patagonia, entered the ſtraits Le Maire about the end of February, 1741; thus did he paſs above a hundred degrees of latitude in leſs than five months. The little ſloop, or frigate of eight guns, named the Trial, was the firſt veſſel of the kind that ventured to double Cape Horn: ſhe afterwards ſeized, in the South ſea, a Spaniſh ſhip of ſix hundred tons, the crew of which little expected to have been taken in the Pacific ocean by a ſhip from England.

However, upon doubling Cape Horn, after having paſſed the ſtraits Le Maire, Anſon's ſquadron was ſhattered and diſperſed by violent tempeſts. One half of the men aboard periſhed by an inveterate ſcurvy. The veſſel of the commodore being ſeparated from the reſt, put in at the deſart iſland of Fernandez, which lies higher up the South-ſea towards the tropic of Capricorn. A rational reader, who beholds with horror the prodigious efforts which mortals make, in order to render themſelves and their fellow creatures unhappy, will perhaps receive ſome ſatisfaction upon being informed, that George Anſon, finding the climate of this iſland exceeding mild, and the ſoil equally fertile, ſowed in it pulſe and fruits, the ſeeds of which he brought with him from England: by which means, it in a ſhort time became a plentiful country. Certain Spaniards, who touched there ſome time after, being, in the courſe of the war, carried priſoners into England, formed an opinion, that Anſon alone was capable of repairing the ravages of war by ſuch an attention to the general good of mankind, and returned him thanks

as

as their benefactor. Let me be allowed to ſoften, by ſuch circumſtances as theſe, the melancholy tenour of a hiſtory, which is almoſt one continued narrative of murders and calamities.

Anſon, whoſe veſſel carried ſixty guns, being joined by another of his ſhips of war, and by the little frigate called the Trial, took ſeveral conſiderable prizes in cruiſing near the iſland of Fernandez; but having ſoon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the city of Paita, upon the coaſt of America. He neither made uſe of his ſhips of war nor of his men, in executing this bold and hazardous attempt: the expedition was performed by fifty ſoldiers in a boat with oars: they landed during the night; the ſudden ſurprize, the confuſion, and the darkneſs redoubled, multiplied, and increaſed the danger. The governor, the garriſon, and the inhabitants fled on every ſide. In the mean time, the fifty Engliſh, without moleſtation, carried off the treaſures which they found in the cuſtom-houſe and in private houſes, during the ſpace of three days. Some black ſlaves, a ſpecies of animals who always become the property of the firſt that ſeize them, not having fled, aſſiſted the Engliſh in carrying off the wealth of their former maſters. Anſon cauſed Paita to be burnt to aſhes, and then ſet ſail; having plundered the Spaniards with as much eaſe as they, in paſt ages, plundered the Americans. Spain loſt fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres by the fire; the Engliſh gained about one hundred and eighty thouſand, which, added to the former captures, greatly enriched the ſquadron. The great number of men carried off by the ſcurvy, left the bulk of the treaſures to the ſurvivors. This little ſquadron came afterwards oppoſite to Panama, upon the coaſt where pearls are dived for, and advanced to Acapulco, at the back of Mexico. The government of Madrid was not then aware of the riſk it ran of loſing that vaſt region of the world. If admiral Vernon, who beſieged Carthagena upon the oppoſite ſea, had ſucceeded, he might have aſſiſted commodore Anſon. Thus the iſthmus of Panama would

would have been taken by the Engliſh, both upon the right and left, and the Spaniards deprived of the very centre of their American dominions.

Anſon, who had but two ſhips remaining, the reſt having been deſtroyed by tempeſts, confined all his enterprizes and his ſanguine hopes to the taking of a large galleon which Mexico ſends every year to the iſland of Manilla in the Chineſe ſeas. Manilla is one of the Philippine iſlands, ſo called, becauſe they were diſcovered during the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with ſilver, would not have ſet ſail if the Engliſh had been ſeen upon the coaſts, and it did not leave the port till a conſiderable time after their departure. The commodore therefore croſſed the Pacific ocean, and all the climates between the tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him traverſe the globe with his two remaining men of war. The ſcurvy continued to afflict the ſailors upon theſe ſeas; and, as one of the two veſſels leaked on every ſide, they were obliged to abandon and ſet fire to it, leſt the wreck ſhould be thrown upon ſome of the Spaniſh iſlands, and become of uſe to the inhabitants: the ſoldiers and ſailors belonging to this veſſel, were taken on board Anſon's. At that time, the only veſſel that was left of his whole ſquadron, was his own ſhip, called the Centurion, which carried ſixty guns, and was accompanied by two tenders. The Centurion eſcaped alone from ſo many dangers, but in a very ſhattered condition, and having none but ſick men on board, very fortunately touched at one of the Marianne iſlands called Tinian, which was at that time quite uninhabited. Not long before, it contained no leſs than thirty thouſand ſouls, but the greateſt part of the inhabitants had been ſwept away by an epidemic diſeaſe, and the ſurvivors had been removed to another iſland by the Spaniards.

The crew owed its preſervation to the iſland of Tinian. That iſland, which ſurpaſſed Fernandes in fertility, abounded on all ſides with wood, ſprings, and rivulets, tame animals, fruits, pulſe, and every thing neceſſary

neceſſary for food, the conveniences of life, and for refitting the veſſel. But the moſt extraordinary thing found there, was a ſort of tree, the taſte of whoſe fruit reſembled that of the beſt bread; a real treaſure, which, if it could be tranſplanted to our climates, would be greatly preferable to thoſe riches, which owe all their worth to opinion, and which men go in queſt of to the end of the earth, through ſo many dangers and difficulties.

From this iſland he went to that of Formoſa; he then bent his courſe towards China, to Macao, at the entrance of the river Canton, in order to repair his only remaining veſſel.

The commodore having completely refitted his ſhip at Macao by the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe, and having taken on board ſome Indian ſailors, and ſome Hollanders, whom he thought to be uſeful men, put to ſea again.

At length, upon the ninth of June, 1743, the ſo much wiſhed for Spaniſh ſhip was deſcried: it advanced towards Manilla, having but ſixty-four guns; the crew conſiſted of five hundred and fifty men fit for action; the treaſure which it carried, amounted only to about fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres in ſilver, with cochineal and other merchandize, becauſe the whole treaſure, which is generally double that ſum, had been divided into two equal parts, and one half was carried by another galleon.

The commodore had but two hundred and forty men on board the Centurion. The captain of the galleon perceiving the enemy, choſe rather to venture the treaſure, than forfeit his reputation by flying before an Engliſhman; for which reaſon he hoiſted as much ſail as poſſible, in order to come up with, and engage him.

The eager deſire of ſeizing riches, a paſſion much ſtronger than the principle of duty, which directs to preſerve them for the ſovereign, the experience of the Engliſh, and the ſkilful operations of the commodore, procured him the victory. Only two of his men were killed in the fight; the galleon loſt ſixty-ſeven, who were

were ſlain upon deck, and eighty-four were wounded. The number of his crew ſtill ſurpaſſed that of the commodore's: however, he thought proper to ſtrike. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize. He there maintained the honour of his country by refuſing to pay the impoſts exacted by the Emperor of China from all foreign ſhips; he inſiſted that a man of war was not ſubject to them. His conduct overawed the Chineſe; the governor of Canton gave him audience, to which he was conducted through two ranks of ſoldiers, whoſe number amounted to ten thouſand; after which he returned to his own country, by the Punda iſlands and the Cape of Good-Hope. Having thus ſailed round the world victorious, he landed in England the 4th of June, 1744, after a voyage of three years and a half.

The Interview between HANNIBAL *and* SCIPIO, *and the Battle of* Zama*.

HANNIBAL being encamped at Zama, ſent forth his ſcouts and ſpies, to diſcover where the Romans lay, what they were doing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, and brought unto Scipio: who inſtead of truſſing them up, gave them free leave to view his camp at pleaſure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and ſhew them whatſoever they deſired. This done, he gave them leave to depart; and ſent them away ſafe unto their general. Hannibal underſtanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his enemy: with whom on the ſudden, he grew deſirous to have an interview, and perſonal conference; and ſignified ſo much unto him by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion, the Roman liked well: and returned anſwer,

* Sir W. Raleigh's Hiſt. of the World, p. 977—981.

ſwer, that he would meet him ſhortly in a place convenient. The next day, Maſiniſſa came with his army: whom Scipio taking with him, removed unto a town called Nedagara; near unto which, he ſate down, in a place otherwiſe commodious, and cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerve his camp. Thence he ſent word unto the Carthaginian, that the time and place did fitly ſerve, if he had ought to ſay to him. Hannibal thereupon removed from Zama, and came within four miles of the enemy; where he encamped well to his own liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water ſomewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting; and the two generals each of them with a troop of horſe, rode forth of their camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well ſearched for fear of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelves with each of them one interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the Carthaginian, ſaluting the Roman, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for Carthage and Rome, if they would have limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of Afric, and of Italy; for that the countreys of Sicil and Spain, about which, their fathers and themſelves had ſtriven, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many fleets as had been loſt, and of ſo much blood as had been ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not be recalled: he ſaid, that it was meet for them to conſider, unto what extream dangers their own cities had been expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the Gods to endue them with greater wiſdom hereafter. And to ſuch peaceable diſpoſition, he affirmed that his own years, and long tryal of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared,

that

that Scipio, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs, are ſubject. " Yet (ſaid he) mine own " example may, peradventure, ſuffice to teach thee " moderation. For I am that ſame Hannibal, who, " after my victory at Cannæ, won the greateſt part of " Italy; and deviſed with myſelf, what I ſhould do " with your city of Rome, which I hoped verily to " have taken. Once I brought mine army to your " walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of " Carthage: but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here " intreating thee to grant us peace. This may ſerve " as a document of Fortune's inſtability. I have " fought with thy father, Scipio; he was the firſt of " the Roman generals that ever met me in the field. " I did then little think, that the time would come, " that I ſhould have ſuch buſineſs, as now at the pre- " ſent, with his ſon. But this is even one of Fortune's " pageants, whereof ſhe hath many. And thou maiſt " have experience of the like in thyſelf, who knows " how ſoon? Think upon M. Atilius: if he would " have hearkened unto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now uſe " to thee, he might have returned home to Rome an " happy man, and ſo maiſt thou do now, if any rea- " ſonable offer will give thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt " thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all Spain, " Sicil, Sardinia, and whatſoever iſlands elſe are ſitu- " ate between Italy and Afric, be abandoned by the " Carthaginians for ever, and left unto the Romans, " to bear dominion therein? Thou ſhalt have glory " enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans " may well be glad of ſuch a bargain. As for us, " our own quiet ſhall henceforth give us contentment. " And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make us " faithfully obſerve the peace with you. But if thou " thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder " well how great a hazard thou muſt undergo for ob- " taining a very little more, than that which thou " maiſt have without contention. It is now in thine

" own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it " pleaſe thee: ſtay but until to-morrow night, and " thou maiſt take ſuch fortune as it pleaſe the Gods. " The iſſue of battle is uncertain, and many times " beguileth expectation. Men and ſteel we ſhall each " of us bring into the field; but of the victory, nei- " ther of us hath aſſurance. Let us therefore without " more ado, make peace. And do not tell me that " ſome falſe-hearted citizens of ours, dealt fraudu- " lently of late in the like treaty *. It is I, Hanni- " bal, that now deſire peace with thee, which I would " never do, if I thought it not expedient for my " countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes " maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my " power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the " war by me begun."

Hereunto Scipio made anſwer, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in Sicil and in Spain, which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former war: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe arms; which the Gods by the final iſſue of the wars had approved, and would approve to be moſt juſt. As for the mutability of Fortune, he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence or overweening, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. " For " was it not plain that all theſe countreys, with which " the Carthaginians now ſo willingly departed, were " already won from the Romans? If, ſaid he, theſe " conditions had been propounded whileſt as yet ye " detained ſome part of Italy, they might, peradven- " ture,

* Carthage had entered into a fraudulent treaty of peace to gain time till Hannibal ſhould arrive from Italy. When this general received orders to embark for Africa, it is ſaid, that he was ſcarce able to refrain from tears. He conſidered Italy as a certain conqueſt, and ſaid, that the Carthaginian ſenate, and not the Romans, had vanquiſhed him.

" ture, not have been rejected. But as the caſe now " ſtands, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould remit unto you " any one piece of theſe my former demands, to which " the Carthaginians have yielded already*, and thought " me to be gracious in dealing ſo moderately. Rather, " I ſay, that the injuries which they have done me " ſince, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace " upon ſo friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, " Hannibal, though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy " citizens underſtand, from how much of their burden " they are by thy means eaſed. Only thou muſt think, " that in like ſort, it concerns me in honour not to let " them be gainers or ſavers by the wrongs which they " have done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that beſides " thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were " well contented to reſtore unto us ranſom-free, all " priſoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thou- " ſand talents, to deliver up their gallies, and to de- " liver hoſtages for aſſurance of fair dealing. And " muſt they now be diſcharged of all this by their " breach of truce, their ſpoiling of our fleet, and their " violating our embaſſadours? Not ſo. But if they " can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch " amends as I ſhall require, for theſe injuries newly " done; then will I take advice with my counſel, what " anſwer to give you; otherwiſe you may even prepare " for war, and blame your own ſelves for that I have " denied you peace."

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his own camp, with no other news than war; bidding their ſouldiers prepare for a battel, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the field: a notable march, and ſuch as hath very ſeldom been found; whether we regard the generals, their armies, the two cities that contended, or the great importance of

* Scipio alludes to the treaty, which Carthage had fraudulently entered into, and broken.

of the battle at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing firſt the Haſtati, divided into their maniples, or ſmall battalions, with a reaſonable diſtance between them: not far behind theſe followed the Principes, likewiſe divided; and ſo after them the Triarii. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinary cuſtome of the Romans: he placed not the maniples of his Principes oppoſite unto the void ſpaces between the Haſtati, that ſo the Haſtati, as was uſual, might fall back between the Principes; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were in file. This he did, becauſe of the elephants, whereof Hannibal had many. For of thoſe beaſts the danger was leſs whileſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces between the firſt battalions, they ſhould not come upon the Principes in front. Unto his Velites, or thoſe of the light armature that were to begin the fight, he gave direction, that when they found themſelves to be overcharged, either by the enemies, or (which was moſt to be feared) by the elephants, they ſhould run back through thoſe lanes that were between the maniples; and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, untill they were got behind all their own army; thereby leaving room enough unto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behind, to ſave themſelves on the void ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third battles, without cloying up the way between the maniples, which he deſired to keep open. His Italian horſe he placed in the left wing, under C. Lælius. In the right wing was Maſiniſſa with his Numidians. He himſelf riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; uſing words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieved, ſince their coming into Africk. He told them, that if this day were their's, the war was at an end, and that their victory in this war, ſhould make them lords of all the world, for that afterwards none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary,

trary, if they were beaten, he aſked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own ſtanding camp: neither was there any place in Africk, that would give them ſhelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unleſs they would live like wretched ſlaves under moſt mercileſs enemies. In ſuch neceſſity he ſaid, that they who conſidered themſelves to be, and take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other ſide placed his elephants, that were more than four-ſcore, in front of his battel. Next behind theſe he made his vant-guard all of Mercenaries, Ligurians, Gaules, Baleares, and Moors. Then followed his battel; which was of Carthaginians and Africans, more intereſted in the quarrel than were thoſe Mercenaries, though not ſo good ſouldiers; but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thouſand Macedonians, lately ſent from king Philip. More than the ſpace of a furlong, behind theſe came his Rere-ward, conſiſting of thoſe brave ſouldiers which had ſerved him in his Italian wars; and were the only men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to Lælius, in his own right wing, he beſtowed the Carthaginian horſe. Tychæus * and the Numidians he placed in his left wing againſt Maſiniſſa. He was indeed far too weak for the enemy in horſe, both in number and in goodneſs. For Tychæus and Mezetullus † had no more than three thouſand, and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the four thouſand of Maſiniſſa. The Carthaginians alſo were no more, nor none other, than ſuch as could be levied in the haſte of a few days; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed

* A Numidian prince.
† The head of a family, at enmity with Maſiniſſa.

tomed to flye. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authority, to make theſe his companions alight and ſerve on foot, ſetting better men in their ſaddles. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more help. Had Vermina, the ſon of Syphax, come hither, as he did in a few days after, with ſixteen thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them horſe, the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the lords of Carthage would brook no delay, Hannibal muſt be fain to comfort himſelf with the hope that he repoſed in his old Italian ſouldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeveral conditions, promiſing unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards; threatening the Carthaginians with inevitable ſervitude if they loſt that day; but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained againſt far greater numbers. He bad them to look upon the enemies and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge army which they had ſlaughtered at Cannæ. He willed them to remember, that it was one P. Scipio, even the father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to run away. He told them, that theſe legions which they yonder beheld, were for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the Roman ſouldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battles could no longer be truſted to bear arms in their own country. As for the reſt, they were young men, the ſons of cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of thoſe weapons, by which their fathers were daily ſlain or chaſed. Wherefore he intreated theſe his old companions upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelf, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour, and to purchaſe the fame of "men invincible."

Such exhortations uſed the two generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the Numidian horſemen

horſemen on both ſides began to ſkirmiſh. The trumpets, and other inſtruments of war, ſounded to battel: and Hannibal commanded his elephants to break upon the Romans. Of theſe elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertain kind of help) thoſe that ſtood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear, and ran upon their own Numidian horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. Maſiniſſa eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſameNumidians; and not ſuffering them to rally themſelves, drave them quite out of the field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoil of the Roman Velites, whom they followed into the ſpaces between the maniples: but without any harm to the battalions themſelves, which gave them open way, according as Scipio had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battel, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithal they diſordered the Carthaginian horſe, which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to Lælius the ſame advantage that Maſiniſſa had againſt the Numidians; which he uſed in like ſort. In the mean while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapon's caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacity and in quickneſs to have the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harm than they took. But the Roman diſcipline after a while prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the Principes, following ſomewhat near after the Haſtati, encouraged their fellow, and ſhewed themſelves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercenaries received no manner of help or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new levied Carthaginians and Africans, when they ſaw their hired ſouldiers give back, did alſo themſelves retire. This cauſed the Ligurians, Gaules, and the reſt, to

think themſelves betrayed; whereupon they inclined unto flight. The Carthaginian battel was herewith more terrified than before, ſo as it refuſed to give way unto the Mercenaries for their ſafe retreat; and yet withal forebore to make head againſt the enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to aſk them what they meant by this: fear and indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaſed by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their arms with an heedleſs fury againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten down and ſlain, through their own indiſcretion, by their own Mercenaries. The Roman Haſtati in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of work, that the Principes were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the ears among themſelves. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily flye. Such of them as eſcaped ran towards Hannibal, who kept his ground, and would not ſtir one foot to help or ſave theſe run-awayes. He cauſed his men to bend their pikes at thoſe of his own ſide, that would have ruſhed upon him; whom he thereby compelled to turn aſide beyond his battel, and ſave themſelves in the open field. The ground over which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meet with Hannibal, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and ſo ſlippery with blood, that Scipio began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his battalions ſhould be diſſolved in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that warlike army which he ſaw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; he might be well aſſured to receive a notable overthrow. He cauſed therefore the Haſtati to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite to the main battel of the Hannabalians. Then drawing up his Principes and Triarii, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one front with the Haſtati, and made

of

of them his two cornets. This done he advanced towards Hannibal, who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the day's work till now ſeemed to have been a matter of paſtime, in regard of the ſharp conflict, that was maintained between theſe notable ſouldiers. The Romans were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before; they were alſo far the more in number. But theſe old ſouldiers of Hannibal were freſh; (and perhaps the better men). They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather choſe to die on the ground whereon he ſtood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worſe: unleſs it may ſeem, that the Romans were beginning to ſhrink; for as much as the return of Maſiniſſa and Lælius from purſuit of the enemies horſe, is ſaid to have been "moſt "happy" and in a "needful time." Theſe upon a ſudden charged the Hannabalians in the rear; and overbearing them by mere violence, compelled them to fall to rout.

In this battel there dyed of the Romans fifteen hundred and upwards, on the Carthaginian ſide, above twenty thouſand; beſides as many were taken, of whom Sopater captain of the Macedonians was one. The ſingular ſkill that Hannibal ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by Polybius; and was acknowledged, as Livie reports, by Scipio himſelf. But the enemies were too ſtrong for him in horſe: and being enjoyned as he was, by the ſtate of Carthage, to take battel with ſuch diſadvantage, he could work no marvels. He ſaved himſelf with a few horſe, and ſtayed not in his journey, till he came to Adrumentum. Thence he was ſent for to Carthage; from which he had been abſent ſix and thirty years. At his coming into the ſenate, he ſaid plainly, that there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolved to ſend embaſſadors again, and try the favour of Scipio, whoſe arms they could not now reſiſt.

AN

HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

PART II.

A Deſcription of the Plague of Athens *.

THE Peloponneſians and their allies, who had made an incurſion into Attica, with two thirds of their forces, had not been many days there, before a ſickneſs began firſt to appear amongſt the Athenians, ſuch as was reported to have raged before this in other parts, as about Lemnos and other places. Yet a plague ſo great as this, and ſo dreadful a mortality, in human memory, could not be paralleled. The phyſicians at firſt could adminiſter no relief, through utter ignorance; nay, they died the faſteſt, the cloſer their attendance on the ſick, and all human art was totally unavailing. Whatever ſupplications were offered in the temples, whatever recourſe to oracles and religious rites, all were inſignificant; at laſt, expedients of this nature they totally relinquiſhed, overpowered by calamity. It broke out firſt, as it is ſaid, in that part of Æthiopia which borders upon Egypt; it afterwards ſpread into Egypt and Lybia; and at length on a ſudden fell on the city of the Athenians. The contagion ſhewed itſelf firſt in Piræus, which occaſioned a report that the Peloponneſians had cauſed poiſon to be thrown into the wells, for as yet

* Thucydides by Smith, vol. i. p. 160.

yet there were no fountains there. After this it ſpread into the upper city, and then the mortality very much increaſed. Let every one, phyſician or not, freely declare his own ſentiments about it; let him aſſign any credible account of its riſe, or the cauſes ſtrong enough in his opinion to introduce ſo terrible a ſcene—I ſhall only relate what it actually was; and as, from an information in all its ſymptoms, none may be quite at a loſs about it, if ever it ſhould happen again, I ſhall give an exact detail of them; having been ſick of it myſelf, and ſeen many others afflicted with it.

This very year *, as is univerſally allowed, had been more than any other remarkably free from common diſorders; or, whatever diſeaſes had already ſeized the body, they ended at length in this. But thoſe, who enjoyed the moſt perfect health, were ſuddenly, without any apparent cauſe, ſeized at firſt with head-achs extremely violent, with inflammations and fiery redneſs in the eyes. Within, the throat and tongue began inſtantly to be red as blood; the breath was drawn with difficulty, and had a noiſome ſmell. The ſymptoms that ſucceeded theſe, were ſneezing and hoarſeneſs; and not long after, the malady deſcended to the breaſt, with a violent cough: but when once ſettled in the ſtomach, it excited vomitings, in which was thrown up all that matter, phyſicians call diſcharges of bile, attended with exceſſive torture. A great part of the infected were ſubject to ſuch violent hiccups without any diſcharge, as brought upon them a ſtrong convulſion, to ſome but of a ſhort, to others, of a very long continuance. The body, to the outward touch, was neither exceeding hot, nor of a pallid hue, but reddiſh, livid, marked all over with little puſtules and ſores; Yet inwardly, it was ſcorched with ſuch exceſſive heat, that it would not bear the lighteſt covering or the fineſt linen upon it, but muſt be left quite naked. They longed for nothing ſo much as to be plunging into cold water; and many

* Before Chriſt 430.

of thoſe who were not properly attended, threw themſelves into wells, hurried by a thirſt not to be extinguiſhed; and whether they drank much or little, their torment ſtill continued the ſame. The reſtleſſneſs of their bodies, and an utter inability of compoſing themſelves by ſleep, never abated for a moment. And the body, ſo long as the diſtemper continued in its height, had no viſible waſte, but withſtood its rage to a miracle, ſo that moſt of them periſhed within nine or ſeven days, by the heat that ſcorched their vitals, though their ſtrength was not exhauſted; or, if they continued longer, the diſtemper fell into the belly, cauſing violent ulcerations in the bowels, accompanied with an inceſſant flux, by which many, reduced to an exceſſive weakneſs, were carried off. For the malady beginning in the head, and ſettling firſt there, ſunk afterwards gradually down the whole body. And whoever got ſafe through all its moſt dangerous ſtages, yet the extremities of their bodies ſtill retained the marks of its violence. For it ſhot down into their privy-members, into their fingers and toes, by loſing which, they eſcaped with life. Some there were, who loſt their eyes, and ſome, who being quite recovered, had at once totally loſt all memory, and quite forgot, not only their moſt intimate friends, but even their own-ſelves. For as this diſtemper was in general virulent beyond expreſſion, and its every part more grievous than yet had fallen to the lot of human nature, ſo, in one particular inſtance, it appeared to be none of the natural infirmities of man, ſince the birds and beaſts that prey on human fleſh, either never approached the dead bodies, of which many lay about uninterred; or certainly periſhed, if they ever taſted. One proof of this is the total diſappearance then of ſuch birds, for not one was to be ſeen, either in any other place, or about any one of the carcaſſes. But the dogs, becauſe of their conſtant familiarity with man, afforded a more notorious proof of this event.

The nature of this peſtilential diſorder was in general—for I have purpoſely omitted its many varied appearances,

appearances, or the circumſtances particular to ſome of the infected, in contradiſtinction to others—ſuch as hath been deſcribed. None of the common maladies incident to human nature, prevailed at that time; or, whatever diſorder any where appeared, it ended in this. Some died, merely for want of care; and ſome, with all the care that could poſſibly be taken; nor was any one medicine diſcovered, from whence could be promiſed any certain relief, ſince that which gave eaſe to one, was prejudicial to another. Whatever difference there was in bodies, in point of ſtrength, or in point of weakneſs, it availed nothing; all were equally ſwept away before it, in ſpite of regular diet and ſtudied preſcriptions. Yet the moſt affecting circumſtances of this calamity, were—that dejection of mind, which conſtantly attended the firſt attack; for the mind ſinking at once into deſpair, they the ſooner gave themſelves up without a ſtruggle; and,—that mutual tenderneſs in taking care of one another, which communicated the infection, and made them drop like ſheep. This latter caſe cauſed the mortality to be ſo great. For if fear withheld them from going near one another, they died for want of help; ſo that many houſes became quite deſolate for want of needful attendance: and if they ventured, they were gone. This was moſt frequently the caſe of the kind and compaſſionate. Such perſons were aſhamed, out of a ſelfiſh concern for themſelves, entirely to abandon their friends, when their menial ſervants, no longer able to endure the groans and lamentations of the dying, had been compelled to fly from ſuch a weight of calamity. But thoſe eſpecially, who had ſafely gone through it, took pity on the dying and the ſick, becauſe they knew by experience what it really was, and were now ſecure in themſelves; for it never ſeized any one a ſecond time ſo as to be mortal. Such were looked upon as quite happy by others, and were themſelves, at firſt, over-joyed in their late eſcape, and the groundleſs hope that hereafter no diſtemper would prove fatal to them. Beſide this reigning calamity, the general

removal from the country into the city, was a heavy grievance, more particularly to thoſe who had been neceſſitated to come thither. For as they had no houſes, but dwelled all the ſummer ſeaſon in booths, where there was ſcarce room to breathe; the peſtilence deſtroyed them with the utmoſt diſorder, ſo that they lay together in heaps, the dying upon the dead, and the dead upon the dying. Some were tumbling one over another in the public ſtreets, or lay expiring round about every fountain, whither they had crept to aſſuage their immoderate thirſt. The temples, in which they had erected tents for their reception, were full of the bodies of thoſe who had expired there. For in a calamity ſo outrageouſly violent and univerſal deſpair, things ſacred and holy had quite loſt their diſtinction. Nay, all regulations obſerved before in matters of ſepulture, were quite confounded, ſince every one buried wherever he could find a place. Some, whoſe ſepultures were already filled by the numbers which had periſhed in their own families, were ſhamefully compelled to ſeize thoſe of others. They ſurprized on a ſudden the piles which others had built for their own friends, and burned their dead upon them; and ſome, whilſt one body was burning on a pile, toſſed another body they had dragged thither upon it, and went their way.

Thus did the peſtilence give their firſt riſe to thoſe iniquitous acts which prevailed more and more in Athens. For every one was now more eaſily induced openly to do what, for decency, they did only covertly before. They ſaw the ſtrange mutability of outward condition; the rich entirely cut off, and their wealth pouring ſuddenly on the indigent and neceſſitous; ſo that they thought it prudent to catch hold of ſpeedy enjoyments and quick guſts of pleaſure; perſuaded, that their bodies and their wealth might be their own, merely for the day. Not any one continued reſolute enough to form any honeſt or generous deſign, when ſo uncertain whether he ſhould live to effect it. Whatever he knew could improve the pleaſure or ſatisfaction

tion of the preſent moment, that he determined to be honour and intereſt. Reverence of the Gods or the laws of ſociety, laid no reſtraints upon them; either judging that piety and impiety were things quite indifferent, ſince they ſaw that all men periſhed alike; or throwing away every apprehenſion of being called to account for their enormities, ſince juſtice might be prevented by death; or rather, as the heavieſt of judgments to which man could be doomed, was already hanging over their heads, ſnatching this interval of life for pleaſure, before it fell.

The Oration, which was ſpoken by PERICLES, *at the Public Funeral of thoſe* Athenians, *who had been firſt killed in the* PELOPONNESIAN *War* *.

MANY of thoſe, who have ſpoken before me on occaſions of this kind †, have commended the author of that law which we are now obeying, for having inſtituted an oration to the honour of thoſe, who ſacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it ſufficient for men who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by ſuch as you ſee the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and that the virtues of many, ought not to be endangered by the management of any one perſon, when their credit muſt precariouſly depend on his oration, which may be good, and may be bad. Difficult indeed it is, judiciouſly to handle a ſubject, where even probable truth will hardly gain aſſent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce

* Thucydides by Smith, vol. i. p. 151.

† It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among the Athenians, to ſolemnize a public funeral for thoſe who firſt fell in any war.

pronounce every thing unfavourably expreſſed, in reſpect to what he wiſhes and what he knows; whilſt the ſtranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of thoſe deeds, which he is conſcious are above his own atchievement. For the praiſes beſtowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do thoſe feats they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it falſe. Yet, as this ſolemnity has received its ſanction from the authority of our anceſtors; it is my duty alſo to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, ſo far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I ſhall therefore begin firſt with our fore-fathers, ſince both juſtice and decency require we ſhould on this occaſion beſtow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themſelves always firmly ſettled, and through their valour, handed it down free to every ſince ſucceeding generation. Worthy indeed of praiſe are they, and yet more worthy are our immediate fathers; ſince enlarging their own inheritance into the extenſive empire which we now poſſeſs, they bequeathed that their work of toil to us, their ſons. Yet even theſe ſucceſſes, we ourſelves here preſent, we who are yet in the ſtrength and vigour of our days, have nobly improved, and have made ſuch proviſions for this our Athens, that now it is all-ſufficient in itſelf to anſwer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite thoſe martial exploits by which theſe ends were accompliſhed, or the reſolute defences we ourſelves and our fore-fathers have made againſt the formidable invaſions of Barbarians and Greeks. Your own knowledge of theſe, will excuſe the long detail. But, by what methods we have roſe to this height of glory and power; by what polity, and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I ſhall firſt endeavour to ſhew; and then proceed to the praiſe of the deceaſed. Theſe, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occaſion; the diſcuſſion of them

them muſt be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of ſtrangers.

We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours; for it hath ſerved as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy. How different ſoever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the ſame general equality our laws are fitted to preſerve; and ſuperior honours, juſt as we excel. The public adminiſtration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hindrance, ſince, whoever is able to ſerve his country, meets with no obſtacle to preferment from his firſt obſcurity. The offices of the ſtate we go through without obſtructions from one another, and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without ſuſpicions; not angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of diſcontent, which pains, though it cannot puniſh; ſo that in private life, we converſe together without diffidence or damage, whilſt we dare not on any account, offend againſt the public, through the reverence we bear to the magiſtrates and the laws, chiefly to thoſe enacted for redreſs of the injured, and to thoſe unwritten, a breach of which is allowed diſgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind moſt frequent intermiſſions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and ſacrifices * throughout the year, elegantly performed with a peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens, cauſeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the

* Beſides the vaſt number of feſtivals, which were celebrated at Athens with pompous proceſſions, coſtly ſacrifices, and ſometimes public games; the preſidents in courſe offered up ſacrifices every morning conſtantly, for the public welfare.

the delicacies of our own growth, than of thoſe of other nations.

In the affairs of war, we excel thoſe of our enemies, who adhere to methods oppoſite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general reſort, nor ever drive any ſtranger from us, whom either improvement or curioſity hath brought amongſt us, leſt any enemy ſhould hurt us by ſeeing what is never concealed. We place not ſo great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our ſouls impelling us to action. In point of education, the youth of ſome people are inured by a courſe of laborious exerciſe, to ſupport toil and hardſhip like men; but we, notwithſtanding our eaſy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, ſince the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories, barely with their own, but with the united ſtrength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the moſt part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country, thoſe who fight in defence of their own habitations. The ſtrength of our whole force, no enemy yet hath ever experienced, becauſe it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our ſervice by land. But if any where they engage and defeat a ſmall party of our forces, they boaſtingly give it out a total defeat; and, if they are beat, they were certainly overpowered by our united ſtrength. What though from a ſtate of inactivity rather than laborious exerciſe, or with a natural, rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger? This good at leaſt we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehenſion of poſſible misfortunes, and when we hazard the danger, are found no leſs courageous than thoſe who are continually inured to it. In theſe reſpects, our whole community deſerves juſtly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

In our manner of living, we ſhew an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philoſophy without

without enervating the mind. We diſplay our wealth in the ſeaſon of beneficence, and not in the vanity of diſcourſe. A confeſſion of poverty, is diſgrace to no man; no effort to avoid it, is diſgrace indeed. There is viſibly in the ſame perſons, an attention to their own private concerns, and thoſe of the public; and in others, engaged in the labours of life, there is a competent ſkill in the affairs of government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in ſtate affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet, we paſs the ſoundeſt judgment, and are quick at catching the right apprehenſions of things, not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions; but, rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein conſiſts our diſtinguiſhing excellence, that in the hour of action, we ſhew the greateſt courage, and yet debate before-hand, the expediency of our meaſures. The courage of others is the reſult of ignorance; deliberation makes them cowards. And thoſe undoubtedly muſt be owned to have the greateſt ſouls, who, moſt acutely ſenſible of the miſeries of war and the ſweets of peace, are not hence in the leaſt deterred from facing danger.

In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preſerve friends, not by receiving, but by conferring obligations. For he, who does a kindneſs, hath the advantage over him, who, by the law of gratitude, becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The perſon obliged, is compelled to act the more inſipid part, conſcious that a return of kindneſs is merely a payment, and not an obligation. And we alone are ſplendidly beneficent to others, not ſo much from intereſted motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I ſhall ſum up what yet remains, by only adding, that our Athens in general, is the ſchool of Greece: and, that every ſingle Athenian among us, is excellently formed by his perſonal qualifications, for all the various ſcenes of active life, acting with a moſt graceful demeanour, and a moſt ready habit of diſpatch.

That

That I have not, on this occaſion, made uſe of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height to which, by ſuch a conduct, this ſtate hath roſe, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report; the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the bluſh of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no diſcontent, as if ſubject to men unworthy to command. That we deſerve our power, we need no evidence to manifeſt. We have great and ſignal proofs of this, which intitle us to the admiration of the preſent and of future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praiſe; no poet to deck off a hiſtory with the charms of verſe, where the opinion of exploits muſt ſuffer by a ſtrict relation. Every ſea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land been penetrated by our armies, which have every where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendſhip.

In the juſt defence of ſuch a ſtate, theſe victims of their own valour, ſcorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought, and bravely died. And every one of thoſe who ſurvive is ready, I am perſuaded, to ſacrifice life in ſuch a cauſe. And for this reaſon have I enlarged ſo much on national points, to give the cleareſt proof, that in the preſent war, we have more at ſtake than men whoſe public advantages are not ſo valuable; and to illuſtrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them who are now my ſubject, and the greateſt part of which they have already received. For the encomiums with which I have celebrated the ſtate, have been earned for it by the bravery of theſe, and of men like theſe. And ſuch compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if paſſed on any Grecians, but them alone. The fatal period, to which theſe gallant ſouls are now reduced, is the ſureſt evidence of their merit—an evidence begun in their lives, and compleated in their deaths: for it is a debt of juſtice to pay ſuperior honours

nours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their laſt ſervice effaceth all former demerits—it extends to the public; their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet, not one of theſe was at all induced to ſhrink from danger through fondneſs of thoſe delights which the peaceful affluent life beſtows; not one was the leſs laviſh of his life, through that flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One paſſion there was in their minds much ſtronger than theſe, the deſire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this, as the moſt honourable prize of dangers, they boldly ruſhed towards the mark, to ſeek revenge, and then to ſatisfy thoſe ſecondary paſſions. The uncertain event they had already ſecured in hope; what their eyes ſhewed plainly muſt be done, they truſted their own valour to accompliſh, thinking it more glorious to defend themſelves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed, they fled, but preſented their bodies to the ſhock of battle; when inſenſible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they inſtantly dropt: and thus diſcharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for you, who now ſurvive them, it is your buſineſs to pray for a better fate—but, to think it your duty alſo to preſerve the ſame ſpirit and warmth of courage againſt your enemies; not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man indulging a flow of words may tell you, what you yourſelves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly againſt your enemies—but rather, making the daily increaſing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehenſions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were ſenſible of ſhame; who, whenever their attempts

attempts were unſucceſsful, thought it diſhonour their country ſhould ſtand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and ſo made it the moſt glorious preſent. Beſtowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praiſe that will never decay, a ſepulchre that will always be moſt illuſtrious.—Not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preſerved, to be on every occaſion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the ſepulchre of illuſtrious men; nor is it the inſcription on the columns in their native ſoil alone that ſhews their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inſcriptions, in every foreign nation, repoſited more durably in univerſal remembrance than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating theſe noble patterns, placing your happineſs in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be laviſh of life is not ſo noble in thoſe whom misfortunes have reduced to miſery and deſpair, as in men who hazard the loſs of a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and the enjoyment of all the bleſſings this world affords, by an unſucceſsful enterprize. Adverſity after a ſeries of eaſe and affluence, ſinks deeper into the heart of a man of ſpirit, than the ſtroke of death inſenſibly received in the vigour of life and public hope.

For this reaſon, the parents of thoſe who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail;—I ſhall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happineſs belongs to men who have reached the moſt glorious period of life, as theſe now have who are to you the ſource of ſorrow; theſe, whoſe life hath received its ample meaſure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its concluſion. I know it in truth a difficult taſk, to fix comfort in thoſe breaſts, which will have frequent remembrances in ſeeing the happineſs of others, of what they once themſelves enjoyed. And ſorrow flows not from the abſence of thoſe good things we have never yet experienced,

rienced, but from the loſs of thoſe to which we have been accuſtomed. They, who are not yet by age exempted from iſſue, ſhould be comforted in the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to ſome, in cauſing them to forget ſuch as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country in preventing its deſolation, and providing for its ſecurity. For thoſe perſons cannot in common juſtice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expoſe to danger for its ſafety. But you, whoſe age is already far advanced, compute the greater ſhare of happineſs your longer time hath afforded for ſo much gain, perſuaded in yourſelves, the remainder will be but ſhort, and enlighten that ſpace by the glory gained by theſe. It is greatneſs of ſoul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter ſtage of life, as ſome give out, ſo much as honour.

To you, the ſons and brothers of the deceaſed, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him, who no longer is, every one is ready to commend, ſo that to whatever height you puſh your deſerts, you will ſcarce ever be thought to equal, but to be ſomewhat inferior to theſe. Envy will exert itſelf againſt a competitor whilſt life remains; but when death ſtops the competition, affection will applaud without reſtraint.

If after this it be expected from me to ſay any thing to you, who are now reduced to a ſtate of widowhood, about female virtue, I ſhall expreſs it all in one ſhort admonition;—It is your greateſt glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your ſex, and to give the men as little handle as poſſible to talk of your behaviour; whether well or ill.

I have now diſcharged the province allotted me by the laws, and ſaid, what I thought moſt pertinent to this aſſembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children from this day till they

they arrive at manhood, ſhall be educated at * the public expence of the ſtate, which hath appointed ſo beneficial a meed for theſe and all future relics of the public conteſts. For wherever the greateſt rewards are propoſed for virtue, there the beſt of patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one reſpectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

The Character of MARIUS †.

THE birth of Marius was obſcure, though ſome call it equeſtrian, and his education wholly in camps; where he learnt the firſt rudiments of war, under the greateſt maſter of that age, the younger Scipio, who deſtroyed Carthage; till by long ſervice, diſtinguiſhed valour, and a peculiar hardineſs and patience of diſcipline, he advanced himſelf gradually through all the ſteps of military honour, with the reputation of a brave and complete ſoldier. The obſcurity of his extraction, which depreſſed him with the nobility, made him the greater favourite of the people; who, on all occaſions of danger, thought him the only man fit to be truſted with their lives and fortunes; or to have the command of a difficult and deſperate war: and in truth, he twice delivered them from the moſt deſperate, with which they had ever been threatened by a foreign enemy. Scipio, from the obſervation of his martial talents, while he had yet but an inferior command in the army, gave a kind of prophetic teſtimony of his future glory: for being aſked by ſome of his officers, who were ſupping with him at Numantia,

* The law was, that they ſhould be inſtructed at the public expence, and when come to age preſented with a compleat ſuit of armour, and honoured with the firſt ſeats in all public places.

† Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. i. p. 24—26.

Numantia, what general the republic would have, in caſe of any accident to himſelf; That man, replied he, pointing to Marius at the bottom of the table. In the field he was cautious and provident; and while he was watching the moſt favourable opportunities of action, affected to take all his meaſures from Augurs and Diviners; nor ever gave battle, till by pretended omens and divine admonitions, he had inſpired his ſoldiers with a confidence of victory: ſo that his enemies dreaded him, as ſomething more than mortal; and both friends and foes believed him to act always by a peculiar impulſe and direction from the gods. His merit however was wholly military, void of every accompliſhment of learning, which he openly affected to deſpiſe; ſo that Arpinum had the ſingular felicity to produce the moſt glorious contemner, as well as the moſt illuſtrious improver of the arts and eloquence of Rome *. He made no figure, therefore, in the gown, nor had any other way of ſuſtaining his authority in the city, than by cheriſhing the natural jealouſy between the ſenate and the people; that by his declared enmity to the one, he might always be at the head of the other; whoſe favour he managed, not with any view to the public good, for he had nothing in him of the ſtateſman or the patriot, but to the advancement of his private intereſt and glory. In ſhort, he was crafty, cruel, covetous, and perfidious; of a temper and talents greatly ſerviceable abroad, but turbulent and dangerous at home: an implacable enemy to the nobles, ever ſeeking occaſions to mortify them, and ready to ſacrifice the republic, which he had ſaved, to his ambition and revenge. After a life ſpent in the perpetual toils of foreign or domeſtic wars, he died at laſt in his bed, in a good old age, and in his ſeventh conſulſhip; an honour that no Roman before him ever attained.

* Arpinum was alſo the native city of Cicero.

The Character of SYLLA *.

SYLLA died after he had laid down the dictatorſhip, and reſtored liberty to the republic, and, with an uncommon greatneſs of mind, lived many months as a private ſenator and with perfect ſecurity, in that city where he had exerciſed the moſt bloody tyranny: but nothing was thought to be greater in his character, than that during the three years, in which the Marians were maſters of Italy, he neither diſſembled his reſolution of purſuing them by arms, nor neglected the war which he had upon his hands; but thought it his duty, firſt to chaſtiſe a foreign enemy, before he took his revenge upon citizens. His family was noble and patrician, which yet, through the indolency of his anceſtors, had made no figure in the republic for many generations, and was almoſt ſunk into obſcurity, till he produced it again into light, by aſpiring to the honours of the ſtate. He was a lover and a patron of polite letters, having been carefully inſtituted himſelf in all the learning of Greece and Rome; but from a peculiar gaiety of temper, and fondneſs for the company of mimics and players, was drawn, when young, into a life of luxury and pleaſure; ſo that when he was ſent quæſtor to Marius, in the Jugurthine war, Marius complained, that in ſo rough and deſperate a ſervice, chance had given him ſo ſoft and delicate a quæſtor. But whether rouſed by the example, or ſtung by the reproach of his general, he behaved himſelf in that charge with the greateſt vigour and courage, ſuffering no man to outdo him in any part of military duty or labour, making himſelf equal and familiar even to the loweſt of the ſoldiers, and obliging them all by his good offices and his money; ſo that he ſoon acquired the favour of the army, with the character of a brave and ſkilful commander; and lived to drive Marius himſelf, baniſhed

* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. i. p. 48—50.

baniſhed and proſcribed, into that very province where he had been contemned by him at firſt as his quæſtor. He had a wonderful faculty of concealing his paſſions and purpoſes, and was ſo different from himſelf in different circumſtances, that he ſeemed as it were to be two men in one: no man was ever more mild and moderate before victory; none more bloody and cruel after it. In war, he practiſed the ſame art that he had ſeen ſo ſucceſsful to Marius, of raiſing a kind of enthuſiaſm and contempt of danger in his army, by the forgery of auſpices and divine admonitions: for which end, he carried always about with him, a little ſtatue of Apollo, taken from the Temple of Delphi; and whenever he had reſolved to give battle, uſed to embrace it in ſight of the ſoldiers, and beg the ſpeedy confirmation of its promiſes to him. From an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs and proſperity, he aſſumed a ſurname, unknown before to the Romans, of Felix or the Fortunate; and would have been fortunate indeed, ſays Velleius, if his life had ended with his victories. Pliny calls it a wicked title, drawn from the blood and oppreſſion of his country; for which poſterity would think him more unfortunate, even than thoſe whom he had put to death. He had one felicity however peculiar to himſelf, of being the only man in hiſtory, in whom the odium of the moſt barbarous cruelties was extinguiſhed by the glory of his great acts. Cicero, though he had a good opinion of his cauſe, yet deteſted the inhumanity of his victory, and never ſpeaks of him with reſpect, nor of his government, but as a proper tyranny; calling him, "a maſter of three moſt peſtilent vices, luxury, avarice, cruelty:" He was the firſt of his family, whoſe dead body was burnt: for having ordered Marius's remains to be taken out of his grave, and thrown into the river Anio, he was apprehenſive of the ſame inſult upon his own, if left to the uſual way of burial. A little before his death, he made his own epitaph, the ſum of which was, "that no man had ever gone beyond him, in doing good to his friends, or hurt to his enemies."

The Character of POMPEY*.

POMPEY had early acquired the ſurname of the Great, by that ſort of merit, which, from the conſtitution of the republic, neceſſarily made him Great; a fame and ſucceſs in war, ſuperior to what Rome had ever known, in the moſt celebrated of her generals. He had triumphed at three ſeveral times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Aſia, Africa, and by his victories, had almoſt doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the Roman dominion; for as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, he had found the leſſer Aſia the boundary, but left it the middle of their empire. He was about ſix years older than Cæſar; and while Cæſar immerſed in pleaſures, oppreſſed with debts, and ſuſpected by all honeſt men, was hardly able to ſhew his head, Pompey was flouriſhing in the height of power and glory: and by the conſent of all parties, placed at the head of the republic. This was the poſt that his ambition ſeemed to aim at, to be the firſt man in Rome; the leader, not the tyrant of his country; for he more than once had it in his power to have made himſelf the maſter of it without any riſk; if his virtue, or his phlegm at leaſt, had not reſtrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to ſeize by force; and by fomenting the diſorders of the city, hoped to drive them to the neceſſity of creating him dictator. It is an obſervation of all the hiſtorians, that while Cæſar made no difference of power, whether it was conferred or uſurped; whether over thoſe who loved, or thoſe who feared him; Pompey ſeemed to value none but what was offered; nor to have any deſire to govern, but with the good will of the governed.

* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. ii. p. 132—136.

verned. What leiſure he found from his wars, he employed in the ſtudy of polite letters, and eſpecially of eloquence, in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms; yet he pleaded ſeveral cauſes with applauſe, in the defence of his friends and clients; and ſome of them in conjunction with Cicero. His language was copious and elevated; his ſentiments juſt; his voice ſweet; his action noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms, than the gown: for though in both, he obſerved the ſame diſcipline; a perpetual modeſty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and ſtriking. His perſon was extremely graceful and imprinting reſpect; yet with an air of reſerved haughtineſs, which became the general better than the citizen. His parts were plauſible, rather than great; ſpecious, rather than penetrating; and his views of politics but narrow; for his chief inſtrument of governing was diſſimulation; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real ſentiments. As he was a better ſoldier than a ſtateſman, ſo what he gained in the camp, he uſually loſt in the city; and though adored, when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home, till the imprudent oppoſition of the ſenate drove him to that alliance with Craſſus and Cæſar, which proved fatal both to himſelf and the republic. He took in theſe two, not as the partners, but the miniſters rather of his power; that by giving them ſome ſhare with him, he might make his own authority uncontroulable: he had no reaſon to apprehend that they could ever prove his rivals; ſince neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raiſe them above the laws; a ſuperior fame and experience in war, with the militia of the empire at their devotion: all this was purely his own; till by cheriſhing Cæſar, and throwing into his hands, the only thing which he wanted, arms, and military command; he made him at laſt too ſtrong for himſelf, and never began to fear him,

till it was too late. Cicero warmly diſſuaded both his union, and his breach with Cæſar; and after the rupture, as warmly ſtill, the thought of giving him battle: if any of theſe counſels had been followed, Pompey had preſerved his life and honour, and the republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural ſuperſtition, and attention to thoſe vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruſpices: he had ſeen the ſame temper in Marius and Sylla, and obſerved the happy effects of it: but they aſſumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They uſed it to animate their ſoldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, againſt all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He ſaw all his miſtakes, at laſt, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from Pharſalia, was forced to confeſs, that he had truſted too much to his hopes, and that Cicero had judged better, and ſeen farther into things than he. The reſolution of ſeeking refuge in Egypt, finiſhed the ſad cataſtrophe of this great man: the father of the reigning prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and reſtoration to his kingdom; and the ſon had ſent a conſiderable fleet to his aſſiſtance in the preſent war: but in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a court governed by eunuchs and mercenary Greeks? all whoſe politics turned, not on the honour of the king, but the eſtabliſhment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipſed by the admiſſion of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that ſickneſs, when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his ſafety? or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of Pharſalia, in the defence of his country's liberty, he had died ſtill glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reſerved for an example of the inſtability of human greatneſs, he, who a few days before commanded kings and conſuls, and all the nobleſt of Rome, was ſentenced to die by a council of ſlaves; murdered by

by a baſe deſerter; caſt out naked and headleſs on the Egyptian ſtrand; and when the whole earth, as Velleius ſays, had ſcarce been ſufficient for his victories, could not find a ſpot upon it at laſt for a grave. His body was burnt on the ſhore by one of his freed-men, with the planks of an old fiſhing boat; and his aſhes being conveyed to Rome, were depoſited privately by his wife Cornelia, in a vault of his Alban Villa. The Egyptians however raiſed a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of braſs, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almoſt in ſand and rubbiſh, was ſought out, and reſtored by the Emperor Hadrian.

The Character of JULIUS CÆSAR, *by Dr.* MIDDLETON*.

CÆSAR was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the aſcendent in ſociety: formed to excel in peace, as well as war; provident in counſel; fearleſs in action; and executing what he had reſolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond meaſure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, ſcarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are ſeldom found together, ſtrength and elegance; Cicero ranks him among the greateſt orators, that Rome ever bred: and Quintilian ſays, that he ſpoke with the ſame force with which he fought; and if he had devoted himſelf to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero. Nor was he a maſter only of the politer arts; but converſant alſo with the moſt abſtruſe and critical parts of learning; and among other works, which he publiſhed, addreſſed two books

* Life of Cicero, vol. ii. p. 237.

to Cicero, on the analogy of language, or the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly. He was a moſt liberal patron of wit and learning, whereſoever they were found; and out of his love of thoſe talents, would readily pardon thoſe, who had employed them againſt himſelf; rightly judging, that by making ſuch men his friends, he ſhould draw praiſes from the ſame fountain, from which he had been aſperſed. His capital paſſions were ambition, and love of pleaſure; which he indulged in their turns to the greateſt exceſs: yet the firſt was always predominant; to which he could eaſily ſacrifice all the charms of the ſecond, and draw pleaſure even from toils and dangers, when they miniſtered to his glory. For he thought Tyranny, as Cicero ſays, the greateſt of goddeſſes; and had frequently in his mouth a verſe of Euripides, which expreſſed the image of his ſoul, that if right and juſtice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the ſake of reigning. This was the chief end and purpoſe of his life; the ſcheme that he had formed from his early youth; ſo that as Cato truly declared of him, he came with ſobriety and meditation to the ſubverſion of the republic. He uſed to ſay, that there were two things neceſſary to acquire and to ſupport power; ſoldiers and money; which yet depended mutually on each other: with money therefore he provided ſoldiers; and with ſoldiers extorted money: and was of all men, the moſt rapacious in plundering both friends and foes; ſparing neither prince nor ſtate, nor temple, nor even private perſons, who were known to poſſeſs any ſhare of treaſure. His great abilities would neceſſarily have made him one of the firſt citizens of Rome; but diſdaining the condition of a ſubject, he could never reſt, till he had made himſelf a monarch. In acting this laſt part, his uſual prudence ſeemed to fail him; as if the heighth, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain oſtentation of his power, he deſtroyed the ſtability of it; and as men ſhorten life by living too faſt, ſo by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end.

The Character of CATO, *by Dr.* MIDDLETON *.

IF we conſider the character of Cato without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet falſely meaſuring all duty by the abſurd rigour of the ſtoical rule; he was generally diſappointed of the end, which he ſought by it, the happineſs both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was ſevere, moroſe, inexorable; baniſhing all the ſofter affections, as natural enemies to juſtice, and as ſuggeſting falſe motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compaſſion: in public affairs he was the ſame; had but one rule of policy; to adhere to what was right; without regard to times or circumſtances, or even to a force that could controul him: for inſtead of managing the power of the great, ſo as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; ſo that, with the beſt intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the republic. This was his general behaviour; yet, from ſome particular facts, it appears that his ſtrength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal; which when managed, and flattered to a certain point, would betray him ſometimes into meaſures, contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The laſt act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philoſophy: when he could no longer be, what he had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good, which, by the principles of his ſect, was a juſt cauſe for dying; he put an end to his life, with a ſpirit and reſolution, which would make one imagine, that he was glad to have found an occaſion of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praiſed, rather than imitated.

---

* Life of Cicero, vol. ii. p. 162.

A Compariſon of CÆSAR *with* CATO*.

AS to their extraction, years and eloquence, they were pretty nigh equal. Both of them had the ſame greatneſs of mind, both the ſame degree of glory, but in different ways; Cæſar was celebrated for his great bounty and generoſity; Cato for his unſullied integrity; the former became renowned by his humanity and compaſſion; an auſtere ſeverity heightened the dignity of the latter. Cæſar acquired glory by a liberal, compaſſionate, and forgiving temper: as did Cato, by never beſtowing any thing. In the one, the miſerable found a ſanctuary; in the other, the guilty met with a certain deſtruction. Cæſar was admired for an eaſy yielding temper; Cato for his immoveable firmneſs; Cæſar, in a word, had formed himſelf for a laborious active life; was intent upon promoting the intereſt of his friends, to the neglect of his own; and refuſed to grant nothing that was worth accepting; what he deſired for himſelf, was to have ſovereign command, to be at the head of armies, and engaged in new wars, in order to diſplay his military talents. As for Cato, his only ſtudy was moderation, regular conduct, and above all, rigorous ſeverity. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious; but taking a nobler aim, he contended in bravery with the brave; in modeſty with the modeſt; in integrity with the upright; and was more deſirous to be virtuous, than appear ſo; ſo that the leſs he courted fame, the more it followed him.

---

* Salluſt, by Mr. Roſe, p. 55.

The Character of CATILINE*.

LUCIUS Catiline was deſcended of an illuſtrious family; he was a man of great vigour both of body and mind; but of a diſpoſition extremely profligate and depraved. From his youth he took pleaſure in civil wars, maſſacres, depredations, and inteſtine broils; and in theſe, he employed his younger days. His body was formed for enduring cold, hunger, and want of reſt, to a degree indeed incredible: his ſpirit was daring, ſubtle, and changeable: he was expert in all the arts of ſimulation and diſſimulation; covetous of what belonged to others, laviſh of his own; violent in his paſſions; he had eloquence enough, but a ſmall ſhare of wiſdom. His boundleſs ſoul was conſtantly engaged in extravagant and romantic projects too high to be attempted.

After Sylla's uſurpation, he was fired with a violent deſire of ſeizing the government; and, provided he could but carry his point, he was not at all ſolicitous by what means. His ſpirit, naturally violent, was daily more and more hurried on to the execution of his deſign, by his poverty, and the conſciouſneſs of his crimes; both which evils, he had heightened by the practices above-mentioned. He was encouraged to it by the wickedneſs of the ſtate, thoroughly debauched by luxury and avarice; vices equally fatal, though of contrary natures.

---

* Salluſt, by Mr. Roſe, p. 6, 7.

The Speech of CÆSAR, *on* CATILINE'S *Accomplices* *.

IT is the duty of all men, conſcript fathers, in their deliberations upon ſubjects of difficult determination, to diveſt themſelves of hatred and affection, of revenge and pity. The mind, when clouded with ſuch paſſions, cannot eaſily diſcern the truth; nor has any man ever gratified his own headſtrong inclination, and at the ſame time, anſwered any valuable purpoſe. When we exerciſe our judgment only, it has ſufficient force; but when paſſion poſſeſſes us, it bears ſovereign ſway, and reaſon is of no avail. I could produce a great many inſtances of kings and ſtates purſuing wrong meaſures, when influenced by reſentment or compaſſion. But I had rather ſet before you the example of our fore-fathers, and ſhew how they acted, in oppoſition to the impulſes of paſſion, but agreeably to wiſdom and ſound policy. In the war which we carried on with Perſes, king of Macedonia, Rhodes, a mighty and flouriſhing city, which owed all its grandeur to the Roman aid, proved faithleſs, and became our enemy. But when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians came to be taken into conſideration, our anceſtors pardoned them, that none might ſay the war had been undertaken more on account of their riches, than of injuries. In all the Punic wars too, though the Carthaginians, both in time of peace, and even during a truce, had often inſulted us in the moſt outragious manner; yet, our anceſtors never improved any opportunity of retaliating; conſidering more what was worthy of themſelves, than what might in juſtice be done againſt them.

In

* Salluſt, by Mr. Roſe, p. 43—48.

In like manner, conſcript fathers, ought you to take care, that the wickedneſs of Lentulus, and the reſt of the conſpirators, weigh not more with you, than a regard to your own honour; and that, while you gratify your reſentment, you do not forfeit your reputation. If a puniſhment indeed can be invented adequate to their crimes, I approve the extraordinary propoſal made*; but if the enormity of their guilt is ſuch, that human invention cannot find out a chaſtiſement proportioned to it, my opinion is, that we ought to be contented with ſuch as the law has provided.

Moſt of thoſe who have ſpoke before me, have, in a pompous and affecting manner, lamented the ſituation of the ſtate; they have enumerated all the calamities of war, and the many diſtreſſes of the conquered; virgins raviſhed; youths unnaturally abuſed; children torn from the embraces of their parents; matrons forced to bear the brutal inſults of victorious ſoldiers; temples and private houſes plundered; all places filled with flames and ſlaughter; finally, nothing but arms, carcaſſes, blood and lamentations to be ſeen.

But for the ſake of the immortal Gods, to what purpoſe were ſuch affecting ſtrains? was it to raiſe in your minds an abhorrence of the conſpiracy? as if he, whom ſo daring and threatening a danger cannot move, could be enflamed by the breath of eloquence. No; this is not the way; nor do injuries appear light to any one that ſuffers them; many ſtretch them beyond their due ſize. But, conſcript fathers, different allowances are made to different perſons, when ſuch as live in obſcurity are tranſported by paſſion, to the commiſſion of any offences, there are few who know it; their reputation and fortune being upon a level; but thoſe who are inveſted with great power, are placed

* D. Junius Silanus, who was firſt aſked his opinion, as being conſul elect, voted that capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the conſpirators.

upon an eminence, and their actions viewed by all; and thus the leaſt allowance is made to the higheſt dignity. There muſt be no partiality, no hatred, far leſs any reſentment or animoſity in ſuch a ſtation. What goes by the name of paſſion only in others, when ſeen in men of power, is called pride and cruelty.

As for me, conſcript fathers, I look upon all tortures, as far ſhort of what theſe criminals deſerve. But moſt men remember beſt what happened laſt; and forgetting the guilt of wicked men, talk only of their puniſhment, if more ſevere than ordinary. I am convinced what D. Silanus, that brave and worthy man, ſaid, was from his zeal to the ſtate, and that he was neither biaſſed by partiality nor enmity; ſuch is his integrity and moderation, as I well know. But his propoſal appears to me not indeed cruel (for againſt ſuch men what can be cruel?) but contrary to the genius of our government. Surely Silanus, you was urged by fear, or the enormity of the treaſon, to propoſe a puniſhment quite new. How groundleſs ſuch fear is, it is needleſs to ſhew; eſpecially, when by the diligence of ſo able a conſul, ſuch powerful forces are provided for our ſecurity; and as to the puniſhment, we may ſay, what indeed is the truth, that to thoſe who live in ſorrow and miſery, death is but a releaſe from trouble; that it is death which puts an end to all the calamities of men, beyond which there is no room for care and joy. But why, in the name of the Gods, did you not add to your propoſal, that they ſhould be puniſhed with ſtripes? was it, becauſe the Porcian law forbids it? but there are other laws too, which forbid the putting to death a condemned Roman, and allow him the privilege of baniſhment. Or was it, becauſe whipping is a more ſevere puniſhment than death? Can any thing be reckoned too cruel or ſevere againſt men convicted of ſuch treaſon? but if ſtripes are a lighter puniſhment, how is it conſiſtent to obſerve the law in a matter of ſmall concern, and diſregard it in one that is of greater?

But

But you will ſay, who will find fault with any puniſhment decreed againſt traitors to the ſtate? I anſwer, time may, ſo may ſudden conjunctures; and Fortune too, that governs the world at pleaſure. Whatever puniſhment is inflicted on theſe parricides, will be juſtly inflicted. But take care, conſcript fathers, how your preſent decrees may affect poſterity. All bad precedents ſpring from good beginnings; but when the adminiſtration is in the hands of wicked or ignorant men, theſe precedents, at firſt juſt, are transferred from proper and deſerving objects, to ſuch as are not ſo.

The Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, placed thirty governors over them; who began their power by putting to death, without any trial, ſuch as were remarkably wicked, and univerſally hated. The people were highly pleaſed at this, and applauded the juſtice of ſuch executions. But when they had by degrees eſtabliſhed their lawleſs authority, they wantonly butchered both good and bad without diſtinction; and thus kept the ſtate in awe. Such was the ſevere puniſhment which the people oppreſſed with ſlavery, ſuffered for their fooliſh joy.

In our own times, when Sylla, after his ſucceſs, ordered Damaſippus and others of the like character, who raiſed themſelves upon the misfortunes of the ſtate, to be put to death; who did not commend him for it? all agreed that ſuch wicked and factious inſtruments, who were conſtantly embroiling the commonwealth, were juſtly put to death. Yet this was an introduction to a bloody maſſacre. For, whoever coveted his fellow-citizens houſe, either in town or country; nay even any curious piece of plate, or fine raiment, took care to have the poſſeſſor of it put upon the liſt of the proſcribed.

Thus they, who had rejoiced at the puniſhment of Damaſippus, were ſoon after dragged to death themſelves; nor was an end put to this butchery, till Sylla had glutted all his followers with riches. I do not apprehend

prehend any ſuch proceedings from M. Cicero, nor from theſe times. But in ſo great a city as ours, there are various characters and diſpoſitions. At another time, and under another conſul, who may have an army too at his command, any falſehood may paſs for facts; and when, upon this precedent, the conſul ſhall, by a decree of the ſenate, draw the ſword, who is to ſet bounds to it? who to moderate its fury?

Our anceſtors, conſcript fathers, never wanted conduct nor courage; nor did they think it unworthy of them to imitate the cuſtoms of other nations, if they were uſeful and praiſe-worthy. From the Samnites they learned the exerciſe of arms, and borrowed from them their weapons of war; and moſt of their enſigns of magiſtracy from the Tuſcans; in a word, they were very careful to practiſe whatever appeared uſeful to them, whether amongſt their allies or their enemies; chooſing rather to imitate, than envy what was excellent.

Now in thoſe days, in imitation of the cuſtom of Greece, they inflicted ſtripes on guilty citizens, and capital puniſhment on ſuch as were condemned. But when the commonwealth became great and powerful, and the vaſt number of citizens gave riſe to factions; when the innocent began to be circumvented, and other ſuch inconveniences to take place; then the Porcian and other laws were made, which provided no higher puniſhment than baniſhment, for the greateſt crimes. Theſe conſiderations, conſcript fathers, appear to me of the greateſt weight againſt our purſuing any new reſolution on this occaſion. For ſurely, their virtue and wiſdom, who, from ſo ſmall beginnings, raiſed ſo mighty an empire, far exceed ours, who are ſcarce able to preſerve what they acquired ſo glorioufly. What! ſhall we diſcharge the conſpirators, you'll ſay, to reinforce Catiline's army? By no means; but my opinion is this: that their eſtates be confiſcated; their perſons cloſely confined in the moſt powerful cities of Italy; and that no one move the ſenate or the

the people for any favour towards them, under the penalty of being declared by the ſenate, an enemy to the ſtate, and the welfare of its members.

The Speech of CATO *on* CATILINE'S *Accomplices**.

I AM very differently affected, conſcript fathers, when I view our preſent ſituation, and the danger we are in; and then conſider with myſelf the propoſals made by ſome ſenators who have ſpoke before me. They appear to me to have reaſoned only about the puniſhment of thoſe who have entered into a combination to make war upon their country, upon their parents, upon religion and private property; whereas our preſent circumſtances warn us rather to guard againſt them, than to conſider in what manner we ſhall puniſh them. You may take vengeance for other crimes after they are committed; but if you do not prevent the commiſſion of this, when it is once accompliſhed, in vain will you have recourſe to the tribunals. When the city is once taken, no reſource remains to the conquered citizens.

Now I conjure you, by the immortal Gods, you, who have always valued your fine houſes in town and country, your pictures, your ſtatues, more than the welfare of the ſtate; if you are deſirous to preſerve theſe things, which, whatever their real value be, you are ſo fond of; if you would have leiſure for purſuing your pleaſures; rouze for once out of your lethargy, and take upon you the defence of the ſtate. The debate is not about the public revenues, nor the oppreſſion of our allies: no; our liberties, our lives are in danger.

Often,

* Salluſt, by Mr. Roſe, p. 49—53.

Often, conſcript fathers, have I ſpoke in this houſe; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our fellow-citizens; upon which account, I bear the enmity of many. I, who never indulge myſelf in any vice, nor even cheriſhed the thought of any, could not eaſily pardon the crimes of others. And though you little regarded my remonſtrances, yet the commonwealth remained firm; her native ſtrength ſupported her, even under the negligence of her governors. But the preſent debate is not about the goodneſs or depravity of our morals; nor about the greatneſs or proſperity of the Roman empire; no, it is whether this empire, ſuch as it is, continue our own, or together with ourſelves, fall a prey to the enemy.

And in ſuch a caſe, will any one talk of gentleneſs or mercy? We have long ſince, loſt the true names of things. To give away what belongs to others, is called generoſity; to attempt what is criminal fortitude, and thence the ſtate is reduced to the brink of ruin. Let them, ſince ſuch is the faſhion of the times, be generous from the ſpoils of our allies; merciful to the plunderers of the treaſury; but let them not be prodigal of our blood, and by ſparing a few bad citizens, deſtroy all the good.

C. Cæſar has juſt now ſpoke, with great ſtrength and accuracy, concerning life and death; taking for fictions, I doubt not, the vulgar notions of an infernal world; where the bad ſeparated from the good, are confined to dark, frightful, and melancholy abodes. Accordingly, his propoſal is, that their eſtates be confiſcated, and their perſons confined in the corporate towns; from an apprehenſion, I imagine, that, if they were kept at Rome, they might be reſcued by force, either by their fellow-conſpirators, or a mercenary mob; as if wicked and profligate perſons were only to be found in this city, and not all over Italy; or, as if there were not more encouragement to the attempts of the deſperate, where there is leaſt ſtrength to reſiſt them.

This

This then is an empty propoſal, if he fears any danger from them; but if, amidſt this, ſo great and univerſal conſternation, he alone is void of fear; ſo much the more does it concern me, to be afraid, both for myſelf and you.

Wherefore in determining the fate of Lentulus and the other priſoners, be aſſured, that you likewiſe determine that of Catiline's army, and all the conſpirators. The more vigour and reſolution you exert, ſo much the leſs ſpirit and courage will they have; but if they obſerve the leaſt remiſſneſs in your proceedings, they will preſently fall upon you with fury.

Do not think, it was by arms our anceſtors raiſed the ſtate, from ſo ſmall beginnings to ſuch grandeur: if ſo, we ſhould have it in its higheſt luſtre; as having a greater number of allies and citizens, of arms and horſes, than they had. But there were other things from which they derived their greatneſs, ſuch as we are entirely without. They were induſtrious at home, and exerciſed an equitable government abroad; their minds were free in council, neither ſwayed by crimes nor paſſion. Inſtead of theſe virtues, we have luxury and avarice; poverty in the ſtate, and great wealth in the members of it; we admire riches, and abandon ourſelves to idleneſs; we make no diſtinction between the virtuous and the wicked; and all the rewards of virtue are poſſeſſed by ambition. Nor is it at all ſtrange, whilſt each of you purſues his ſeparate intereſt, whilſt you abandon yourſelves to pleaſure at home, and here in the ſenate, are ſlaves to money or favour; that attacks are made upon the ſtate when thus forſaken. But no more of this.

Romans of the higheſt quality have conſpired to deſtroy their country, and are endeavouring to engage the Gauls, the ſworn enemies of the Roman name, to join them. The commander of the enemy is hovering over us with an army; and yet at this very juncture, you delay and heſitate how to proceed againſt ſuch of the conſpirators as are ſeized within your walls: would you extend your compaſſion towards them? be it ſo;

they

they are young men only, and have offended through ambition; ſend them away armed too: what would be the conſequence of this gentleneſs and mercy? why this—when they got arms in their hands, it would prove your utter ruin.

Our ſituation is indeed dangerous: but you are not afraid: yes, you are very much; only from effeminacy, and want of ſpirit, you are in ſuſpence, waiting every one the motions of another; truſting perhaps to the immortal Gods, who have often ſaved this commonwealth in the greateſt dangers. But aſſiſtance is not obtained from the Gods by idle vows, and ſupplications like thoſe of women; it is by vigilance, activity, and wiſe counſels, that all undertakings ſucceed; if you reſign yourſelves to ſloth and idleneſs, it will be in vain to implore the aſſiſtance of the Gods; you will only provoke them to anger, and they will make you feel it.

In the days of our anceſtors, A. Manlius Torquatus, in a war, with the Gauls, ordered his ſon to be put to death, for having engaged the enemy without orders; and thus a young man of great hopes, was puniſhed for too much bravery. And do you demur about the doom of the moſt barbarous parricides?

Their preſent offence perhaps is unſuitable to their former character: ſhew a tender regard then, for the dignity of Lentulus, if you find that he himſelf ever ſhewed any for his own chaſtity, for his honour, for Gods or men: pardon Cethegus, in conſideration of his youth, if this is not the ſecond time of his making war upon his country. For what need I mention Gabinius, Statilius, Cæparius? who, if they had poſſeſſed the leaſt degree of reflection, would never have embarked in ſuch wicked deſigns againſt the ſtate.

Finally, conſcript fathers, were there any room for a wrong ſtep on this occaſion, I ſhould ſuffer you to be corrected by the conſequences, ſince you diſregard my reaſonings. But we are ſurrounded on all ſides: Catiline is hovering over our heads with an army; we have enemies within the walls, and in the very heart of

the

the city. No preparations can be made, no meaſures taken without their knowledge: hence the greater reaſon for diſpatch.

My opinion then is this, that ſince by a deteſtable combination of profligate citizens, the ſtate is brought into the greateſt danger; ſince they are convicted by the evidence of Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and their own confeſſion, to have entered into a conſpiracy for deſtroying their fellow-citizens and native country, by ſlaughter, conflagration, and other unheard of cruelties; they be put to death according to the ancient uſage, as being condemned by their own mouths.

The Character of HANNIBAL *.

HANNIBAL, being ſent to Spain, on his arrival there, attracted the eyes of the whole army. The veterans believed Hamilcar was revived and reſtored to them. They ſaw the ſame vigorous countenance, the ſame piercing eye, the ſame complexion and features. But in a ſhort time, his behaviour occaſioned this reſemblance of his father to contribute the leaſt towards his gaining their favour. And, in truth, never was there a genius more happily formed for two things, moſt manifeſtly contrary to each other, to obey and to command. This made it difficult to determine, whether the general or ſoldiers loved him moſt. Where any enterprize required vigour and valour in the performance, Aſdrubal always choſe him to command at the executing it; nor were the troops ever more confident of ſucceſs, or more intrepid, than when he was at their head. None ever ſhewed greater bravery in undertaking hazardous attempts, or more preſence

* Livy's Rom. Hiſt. Eng. tranſ. p. 4, 5. vol. iv.

preſence of mind and conduct in the execution of them. No hardſhip could fatigue his body, or daunt his courage. He could equally bear cold and heat. The neceſſary refection of nature, not the pleaſure of his palate, he ſolely regarded in his meals. He made no diſtinction of day and night, in his watching, or taking reſt; and appropriated no time to ſleep, but what remained after he had compleated his duty. He neither ſought for a ſoft, or a retired place of repoſe; but was often ſeen lying on the bare ground, wrapt in a ſoldier's cloak, amongſt the centinels and guards. He did not diſtinguiſh himſelf from his companions by the magnificence of his dreſs, but by the quality of his horſe and arms. At the ſame time, he was by far the beſt foot and horſe ſoldier in the army; ever the foremoſt in a charge, and the laſt who left the field after the battle was begun. Theſe ſhining qualities were however balanced by great vices; inhuman cruelty, more than Carthaginian treachery; no reſpect for truth or honour, no fear of the Gods, no regard for the ſanctity of oaths, no ſenſe of religion. With a diſpoſition thus chequered with virtues and vices, he ſerved three years under Aſdrubal, without neglecting to pry into, or perform every thing, that could contribute to make him hereafter a compleat general.

The Character of ALFRED *.

THE merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be ſet in oppoſition to that of any monarch or citizen, which the annals of any age or any nation, can preſent to us. He ſeems, indeed, to be the complete model of that perfect character, which under the denomination of a ſage

* Hume's Hiſt. 4to. vol. i. p. 63.

ſage or wiſe man, the philoſophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever ſeeing it reduced to practice: ſo happily were all his virtues tempered together; ſo juſtly were they blended, and ſo powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper bounds! He knew how to conciliate the moſt enterprizing ſpirit with the cooleſt moderation; the moſt obſtinate perſeverance with the eaſieſt flexibility; the moſt ſevere juſtice with the greateſt lenity; the greateſt vigour in command with the greateſt affability of deportment; the higheſt capacity and inclination for ſcience with the moſt ſhining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almoſt equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former being more rare among princes, as well as more uſeful, ſeem chiefly to challenge our applauſe. Nature alſo, as if deſirous, that ſo bright a production of her ſkill ſhould be ſet in the faireſt light, had beſtowed on him all bodily accompliſhments, vigour of limbs, dignity of ſhape and air, and a pleaſant, engaging, and open countenance. Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of hiſtorians worthy to tranſmit his fame to poſterity; and we wiſh to ſee him delineated in more lively colours, and with more particular ſtrokes, that we may at leaſt perceive ſome of thoſe ſmall ſpecks and blemiſhes, from which, as a man, it is impoſſible he could be entirely exempted.

The Character of MARY *Queen of* Scots, *by Dr.* ROBERTSON *.

TO all the charms of beauty, and the utmoſt elegance of external form, Mary added thoſe accompliſhments which render their impreſſion irreſiſtible. Polite, affable, inſinuating, ſprightly, and capable of ſpeaking and of writing with equal eaſe and dignity. Sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments; becauſe her heart was warm and unſuſpicious. Impatient of contradiction, becauſe ſhe had been accuſtomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen. No ſtranger, on ſome occaſions, to diſſimulation; which in that perfidious court where ſhe received her education, was reckoned among the neceſſary arts of government. Not inſenſible to flattery, or unconſcious of that pleaſure, with which almoſt every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty. Formed with the qualities that we love, not with the talents that we admire; ſhe was an agreeable woman rather than an illuſtrious queen. The vivacity of her ſpirit, not ſufficiently tempered with ſound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not at all times under the reſtraint of diſcretion, betrayed her both into errors and into crimes. To ſay that ſhe was always unfortunate, will not account for that long and almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of calamities which befel her; we muſt likewiſe add, that ſhe was often imprudent. Her paſſion for Darnly was raſh, youthful, and exceſſive. And though the ſudden tranſition to the oppoſite extreme, was the natural effect of her ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, inſolence, and brutality; yet, neither theſe, nor Bothwell's artful addreſs and important

* Hiſtory of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 150. 4to.

ant ſervices, can juſtify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy paſſion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous ſcene which followed upon it, with leſs abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt ſome to impute her actions to her ſituation, more than to her diſpoſitions; and to lament the unhappineſs of the former, rather than accuſe the perverſeneſs of the latter. Mary's ſufferings exceed, both in degree, and in duration, thoſe tragical diſtreſſes which fancy has feigned to excite ſorrow and commiſeration; and while we ſurvey them, we are apt altogether to forget her frailties, we think of her faults with leſs indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were ſhed for a perſon who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the queen's perſon, a circumſtance not to be omitted in writing the hiſtory of a female reign, all contemporary authors agree in aſcribing to Mary, the utmoſt beauty of countenance, and elegance of ſhape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though, according to the faſhion of that age, ſhe frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey, her complexion was exquiſitely fine, and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to ſhape and colour. Her ſtature was of an height that roſe to the majeſtic. She danced, ſhe walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taſte for muſic was juſt, and ſhe both ſung and played upon the lute, with uncommon ſkill. Towards the end of her life, ſhe began to grow fat; and her long confinement and the coldneſs of the houſes in which ſhe was impriſoned, brought on a rheumatiſm which deprived her of the uſe of her limbs. No man, ſays Brantome, ever beheld her perſon without admiration and love, or will read her hiſtory without ſorrow.

The Character of WILLIAM *the Conqueror* *.

THE character of this prince has ſeldom been ſet in its true light; ſome eminent writers having been dazzled ſo much by the more ſhining parts of it, that they have hardly ſeen his faults; while others, out of a ſtrong deteſtation of tyranny, have been unwilling to allow him the praiſe he deſerves.

He may with juſtice be ranked among the greateſt generals any age has produced. There was united in him activity, vigilance, intrepidity, caution, great force of judgment, and never failing preſence of mind. He was ſtrict in his diſcipline, and kept his ſoldiers in perfect obedience; yet preſerved their affection. Having been from his very childhood continually in war, and at the head of armies, he joined to all the capacity that genius could give, all the knowledge and ſkill that experience could teach, and was a perfect maſter of the military art, as it was practiſed in the times wherein he lived. His conſtitution enabled him to endure any hardſhips, and very few were equal to him in perſonal ſtrength; which was an excellence of more importance than it is now, from the manner of fighting then in uſe. It is ſaid of him, that none except himſelf, could bend his bow. His courage was heroic, and he poſſeſſed it not only in the field, but (which is more uncommon) in the cabinet, attempting great things with means that to other men appeared totally unequal to ſuch undertakings, and ſteadily proſecuting what he had boldly reſolved, being never diſturbed or diſheartened with difficulties, in the courſe of his enterprizes; but having that noble vigour of mind, which inſtead of bending to oppoſition, riſes againſt it, and ſeems to have a power of controuling and commanding fortune herſelf.

Nor

* Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. 8vo. vol. i. p. 70—75.

Nor was he leſs ſuperior to pleaſure than to fear. No luxury ſoftened him, no riot diſordered, no ſloth relaxed. It helped not a little to maintain the high reſpect his ſubjects had for him, that the majeſty of his character was never let down by any incontinence or indecent exceſs. His temperance and his chaſtity were conſtant guards, that ſecured his mind from all weakneſs, ſupported its dignity, and kept it always as it were on the throne. Through his whole life he had no partner of his bed but his queen: a moſt extraordinary virtue in one who had lived even from his earlieſt youth, admiſt all the licence of camps, the allurements of a court, and the ſeductions of ſovereign power! Had he kept his oaths to his people as well as he did his marriage vow, he would have been the beſt of kings; but he indulged other paſſions of a worſe nature, and infinitely more detrimental to the public than thoſe he reſtrained. A luſt of power which no regard to juſtice could limit, the moſt unrelenting cruelty, and the moſt inſatiable avarice poſſeſſed his ſoul. It is true, indeed, that among many acts of extreme inhumanity, ſome ſhining inſtances of great clemency may be produced, that were either effects of his policy, which taught him this method of acquiring friends, or of his magnanimity, which made him ſlight a weak and ſubdued enemy, ſuch as was Edgar Atheling, in whom he found neither ſpirit nor talents able to contend with him for the crown. But where he had no advantage nor pride in forgiving, his nature diſcovered itſelf to be utterly void of all ſenſe of compaſſion; and ſome barbarities, which he committed, exceeded the bounds, that even tyrants and conquerors preſcribe to themſelves.

Moſt of our antient hiſtorians give him the character of a very religious prince; but his religion was after the faſhion of thoſe times, belief without examination, and devotion without piety. It was a religion that prompted him to endow monaſteries, and at the ſame time allowed him to pillage kingdoms; that threw him on his knees before a relick or croſs, but ſuffered

him unreſtrained to trample upon the liberties and rights of mankind.

As to his wiſdom in government, of which ſome modern writers have ſpoken very highly, he was indeed ſo far wiſe, that, through a long unquiet reign, he knew how to ſupport oppreſſion by terror, and employ the propereſt means for the carrying on a very iniquitous and violent adminiſtration. But that which alone deſerves the name of wiſdom in the character of a king, the maintaining of authority by the exerciſe of thoſe virtues which make the happineſs of his people, was what with all his abilities, he does not appear to have poſſeſſed. Nor did he excel in thoſe ſoothing and popular arts, which ſometimes change the complexion of a tyranny, and give it a fallacious appearance of freedom. His government was harſh and deſpotic, violating even the principles of that conſtitution which he himſelf had eſtabliſhed. Yet ſo far he performed the duty of a ſovereign that he took care to maintain a good police in his realm; curbing licentiouſneſs with a ſtrong hand, which, in the tumultuous ſtate of his government, was a great and difficult work. How well he performed it we may learn even from the teſtimony of a contemporary Saxon hiſtorian, who ſays, that during his reign a man might have travelled in perfect ſecurity all over the kingdom with his boſom full of gold, nor durſt any kill another in revenge of the greateſt offences, nor offer violence to the chaſtity of a woman. But it was a poor compenſation, that the high-ways were ſafe, when the courts of juſtice were dens of thieves, and when almoſt every man in authority, or in office, uſed his power to oppreſs and pillage the people. The king himſelf did not only tolerate, but encourage, ſupport, and even ſhare theſe extortions. Though the greatneſs of the antient landed eſtate of the crown, and the feudal profits to which he legally was intitled, rendered him one of the richeſt monarchs in Europe; he was not content with all that opulence, but by authoriſing the ſheriffs, who collected his revenues in the ſeveral counties, to practiſe the moſt grievous

grievous vexations and abuſes, for the raiſing of them higher, by a perpetual auction of the crown lands, ſo that none of his tenants could be ſecure of poſſeſſion, if any other would come and offer more; by various iniquities in the court of exchequer, which was entirely Norman, by forfeitures wrongfully taken; and laſtly, by arbitrary and illegal taxations, he drew into his treaſury much too great a proportion of the wealth of his kingdom.

It muſt however be owned, that if his avarice was inſatiably and unjuſtly rapacious, it was not meanly parſimonious, nor of that ſordid kind which brings on a prince diſhonour and contempt. He ſupported the dignity of his crown with a decent magnificence, and though he never was laviſh, he ſometimes was liberal, more eſpecially to his ſoldiers and to the church. But looking on money as a neceſſary means of maintaining and increaſing power, he deſired to accumulate as much as he could, rather, perhaps, from an ambitious than a covetous nature: at leaſt his avarice was ſubſervient to his ambition, and he laid up wealth in his coffers, as he did arms in his magazines, to be drawn out when any proper occaſion required it, for the defence and enlargement of his dominions.

Upon the whole, he had many great qualities, but few virtues: and, if thoſe actions that moſt particularly diſtinguiſh the man or the king are impartially conſidered, we ſhall find that in his character there is much to admire, but ſtill more to abhor.

The Character of Queen ELIZABETH *.

THERE are few perſonages in hiſtory who have been more expoſed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth,

* Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Tudor, vol. ii. p. 714—716.

and yet there ſcarce is any, whoſe reputation has been more certainly determined, by the unanimous conſent of poſterity. The unuſual length of her adminiſtration and the ſtrong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers ſomewhat of their panegyrics, have at laſt, in ſpite of political factions, and what is more, of religious animoſities, produced an uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her conſtancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and addreſs, are allowed to merit the higheſt praiſes, and appear not to have been ſurpaſſed by any perſon who ever filled a throne: a conduct leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, more ſincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requiſite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, ſhe controuled all her more active and ſtronger qualities, and prevented them from running into exceſs: her heroiſm was exempt from all temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendſhip from partiality, her enterprize from turbulency and a vain ambition: ſhe guarded not herſelf with equal care or equal ſucceſs from leſſer infirmities; the rivalſhip of beauty, the deſire of admiration, the jealouſy of love, and the ſallies of anger.

Her ſingular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herſelf, ſhe ſoon obtained an uncontrouled aſcendant over the people; and while ſhe merited all their eſteem by her real virtues, ſhe alſo engaged their affection by her pretended ones. Few ſovereigns of England ſucceeded to the throne in more difficult circumſtances; and none ever conducted the government with ſuch uniform ſucceſs, and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true ſecret for managing religious factions, ſhe preſerved her people, by her ſuperior prudence, from thoſe confuſions in which theological controverſy had involved all the neighbouring nations; and though her enemies were the moſt powerful princes of Europe, the

the moſt active, the moſt enterprizing, the leaſt ſcrupulous, ſhe was able by her vigour to make deep impreſſions on their ſtate: her own greatneſs meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.

The wiſe miniſters and brave warriors, who flouriſhed during her reign, ſhare the praiſe of her ſucceſs; but inſtead of leſſening the applauſe due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice; they were ſupported by her conſtancy; and with all their ability, they were never able to acquire any undue aſcendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, ſhe remained equally miſtreſs: the force of the tender paſſions was great over her, but the force of her mind was ſtill ſuperior: and the combat which her victory viſibly coſt her, ſerves only to diſplay the firmneſs of her reſolution, and the loftineſs of her ambitious ſentiments.

The fame of this princeſs, though it has ſurmounted the prejudices both of faction and of bigotry, yet lies ſtill expoſed to another prejudice, which is more durable becauſe more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we ſurvey her, is capable either of exalting beyond meaſure, or diminiſhing the luſtre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the conſideration of her ſex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and to conſider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and entruſted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a miſtreſs; but her qualities as a ſovereign, though with ſome conſiderable exceptions, are the object of undiſputed applauſe and approbation.

The Character of MARTIN LUTHER *.

WHILE appearances of danger daily increaſed, and the tempeſt which had been ſo long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence againſt the proteſtant church, Luther was ſaved by a ſeaſonable death, from feeling or beholding its deſtructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining ſtate of health, and during a rigorous ſeaſon, to his native city of Eiſleben, in order to compoſe by his authority, a diſſention among the counts of Mansfield, he was ſeized with a violent inflammation in his ſtomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age. As he was raiſed up by providence to be the author of one of the greateſt and moſt intereſting revolutions recorded in hiſtory, there is not any perſon, perhaps, whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. In his own age, one party, ſtruck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they ſaw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be ſacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a Dæmon. The other, warmed with admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the reſtorer of light and liberty to the Chriſtian church, aſcribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration, bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure, nor the exaggerated praiſe of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain it, abilities

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 64—69.

abilities both natural and acquired to defend it, and unwearied induſtry to propagate it, are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſſeſſed them in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added with equal juſtice, ſuch purity and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered; and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſiderations, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf in his original ſtate of profeſſor in the univerſity, and paſtor to the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were alloyed with no inconſiderable mixture of human frailty and human paſſions. Theſe, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind forcible and vehement in all its operations, rouzed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out on many occaſions, with an impetuoſity which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in aſſerting them, to raſhneſs; his firmneſs in adhering to them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtomed himſelf to conſider every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth againſt thoſe who diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with

contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character, when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries, indiſcriminately, with the ſame rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and ability of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged, in part, on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which, by putting continual reſtraint on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety, and rendered it agreeable, diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reſerve or delicacy. At the ſame time, the works of learned men were all compoſed in Latin: and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to uſe their antagoniſts with the moſt illiberal ſcurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind, appear leſs ſhocking than in a living language, whoſe idioms and phraſes ſeem groſs, becauſe they are familiar.

In paſſing judgement upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by thoſe of another. For although virtue and vice are at all times the ſame, manners and cuſtoms vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear moſt culpable, gave no diſguſt to his contemporaries. It was even by ſome of thoſe qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accompliſhing the great work which he undertook. To rouze mankind, when ſunk in ignorance or ſuperſtition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmoſt vehemence of zeal, and a temper daring to exceſs. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. A ſpirit, more amiable, but leſs vigorous than Luther's would have

ſhrunk

ſhrunk back from the dangers, which he braved and ſurmounted. Towards the cloſe of Luther's life, though without any perceptible declenſion of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increaſed upon him, ſo that he grew daily more peeviſh, more iraſcible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be witneſs of his own amazing ſucceſs; to ſee a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to ſhake the foundation of the Papal throne, before which the mightieſt monarchs had trembled, he diſcovered, on ſome occaſions, ſymptoms of vanity and ſelf-applauſe. He muſt have been indeed more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiment of this kind riſing in his breaſt.

Some time before his death, he felt his ſtrength declining, his conſtitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of buſineſs, added to the labour of diſcharging his miniſterial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of conſtant ſtudy, beſides the compoſition of works as voluminous, as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leiſure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forſake him at the approach of death; his laſt converſation with his friends, was concerning the happineſs reſerved for good men in a future world, of which he ſpoke, with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wiſhed to enter ſoon upon the enjoyment of it. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with exceſſive as well as indecent joy, and damped the ſpirits of all his followers; neither party ſufficiently conſidering that his doctrines were now ſo firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flouriſh independent of the hand which firſt had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony with extraordinary pomp. He left ſeveral children by his wife, Catharine Bore, who ſurvived him; towards the end of the laſt century, there were in Saxony ſome of his deſcendants in decent and honourable ſtations.

The Character of EDWARD III *.

THE Engliſh are apt to conſider with peculiar fondneſs, the hiſtory of Edward III. and to eſteem his reign, as it was one of the longeſt, the moſt glorious alſo, which occurs in the annals of their nation. The aſcendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and national enemy, makes them caſt their eyes on this period with great complacency, and ſanctifies every meaſure, which Edward embraced for that end. But the domeſtic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, a longer interval of domeſtic peace and tranquillity, than ſhe had been bleſſed with in any former period, or than ſhe experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiouſneſs: he made them feel his power, without their daring, or even being inclined to murmur at it: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, made them ſubmit with pleaſure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them ſucceſsful in moſt of their enterprizes; and their unquiet ſpirits directed againſt a public enemy, had no leiſure to breed thoſe diſturbances, to which they were naturally ſo much inclined, and which the frame of the government ſeemed ſo much to authorize. This was the chief benefit which reſulted from Edward's victories and conqueſts. His foreign wars were, in other reſpects, neither founded in juſtice, nor directed to any very ſalutary purpoſe. His attempt againſt the king of Scotland, a minor, and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of ſuperiority over that kingdom, were both

* Hume, vol. ii. p. 231.

both unreaſonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himſelf to be too ſoon ſeduced, by the glaring proſpect of French conqueſts, from the acquiſition of a point, which was practicable, and which might really, if attained, have been of laſting utility to his country and his ſucceſſors. The ſucceſs, which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected; and yet from the very nature of things, not from any unforeſeen accident, was found, even during his own life-time, to have procured him no ſolid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is ſo dazling to the vulgar, the animoſity of nations is ſo extreme, that the fruitleſs deſolation of ſo fine a part of Europe, as France, is totally diſregarded by us, and is never conſidered as a blemiſh in the character or conduct of this prince: and indeed, from the unfortunate ſtate of human nature, it will commonly happen that a ſovereign of great genius, ſuch as Edward, who uſually finds every thing eaſy in his domeſtic government, will turn himſelf towards military enterprizes, where alone he meets with oppoſition, and where he has full exerciſe for his induſtry and capacity.

The Character of FRANCIS I. *with ſome Reflections on his Rivalſhip with* CHARLES V *.

FRANCIS died at Rambouillet, on the laſt day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third year of his reign. During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalſhip ſubſiſted between him and the Emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 132—135.

in wars, profecuted with more violent animofity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period. Many circumftances contributed to both. Their animofity was founded in oppofition of intereft, heightened by perfonal emulation, and exafperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal infults. At the fame time, whatever advantage one feemed to poffefs towards gaining the afcendant, was wonderfully balanced by fome favourable circumftance, peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of great extent, the French king's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with abfolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he fupplied the want of authority by addrefs; the troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprizing; thofe of the latter, better difciplined, and more patient of fatigue. The talents and abilities of the two monarchs, were as different as the advantages which they poffeffed, and contributed no lefs to prolong the conteft between them. Francis took his refolutions fuddenly, profecuted them at firft with warmth, and puſhed them into execution with a moft adventurous courage; but being deftitute of the perfeverance neceffary to furmount difficulties, he often abandoned his defigns, or relaxed the vigour of purfuit from impatience, and fometimes from levity.

Charles deliberated long, and determined with coolnefs; but, having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obftinacy, and neither danger nor difcouragement could turn him afide from the execution of it. The fuccefs of their enterprizes was as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often difconcerted the Emperor's beft laid fchemes; Charles, by a more calm, but fteady profecution of his defigns, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulfed his moft vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter, waiting

until he ſaw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end, not only all that he had loſt, but made new acquiſitions. Few of the French monarch's attempts towards conqueſt, whatever promiſing aſpect they might wear at firſt, were conducted to an happy iſſue; many of the Emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared deſperate and impracticable, terminated in the moſt proſperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the ſplendor of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the proſpect of its turning to his advantage. The degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation, has not been fixed either by a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial conſideration of the greatneſs and ſucceſs of their undertakings; and Francis is one of thoſe monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of fame, than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumſtances. The ſuperiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preſerved through the remainder of his reign, was ſo manifeſt, that Francis's ſtruggle againſt his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by moſt of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally ariſes from thoſe who gallantly maintain an unequal conteſt, but with the favour due to one who was reſiſting a common enemy, and endeavouring to ſet bounds to a monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of princes too, eſpecially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as men. Francis, notwithſtanding the many errors conſpicuous in his foreign policy and domeſtic adminiſtration, was nevertheleſs humane, beneficent, generous. He poſſeſſed dignity without pride; affability free from meanneſs; and courteſy exempt from deceit. All who had acceſs to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, reſpected and loved him. Captivated with his perſonal qualities, his ſubjects forgot his de-

fects

fects as a monarch, and admiring him as the moſt accompliſhed and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they never murmured at acts of male-adminiſtration, which in a prince of leſs engaging diſpoſitions would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, muſt have been temporary only, and would have died away with the courtiers who beſtowed it; the illuſion ariſing from his private virtues muſt have ceaſed, and poſterity would have judged of his public conduct with its uſual impartiality; but another circumſtance prevented this, and his name hath been tranſmitted to poſterity with increaſing reputation. Science and the arts had, at that time, made little progreſs in France. They were juſt beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been their only ſeat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himſelf, in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court; he converſed with them familiarly; he employed them in buſineſs; he raiſed them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. That race of men, not more prone to complain when denied the reſpect to which they fancy themſelves entitled, than apt to be pleaſed when treated with the diſtinction which they conſider as their due, though they could not exceed in gratitude to ſuch a benefactor, and ſtrained their invention, and employed all their ingenuity in panegyric.

Succeeding authors, warmed with their deſcriptions of Francis's bounty, adopted their encomiums, and refined upon them. The appellation of Father of letters beſtowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory ſacred among hiſtorians, and they ſeem to have regarded it as a ſort of impiety to uncover his infirmities, or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithſtanding his inferior abilities, and want of ſucceſs, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The virtues which he poſſeſſed as a man, have entitled him

to

to greater admiration and praiſe, than have been beſtowed upon the extenſive genius and fortunate arts of a more capable, but leſs amiable rival.

The Character of CHARLES V *.

AS Charles was the firſt prince of his age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we conſider the greatneſs, the variety, or the ſucceſs of his undertakings, was the moſt conſpicuous. It is from an attentive obſervation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praiſes of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, or the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the French, that a juſt idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to be collected. He poſſeſſed qualities ſo peculiar, as ſtrongly mark his character, and not only diſtinguiſh him from the princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that ſuperiority over them which he ſo long maintained. In forming his ſchemes, he was, by nature as well as by habit, cautious and conſiderate. Born with talents, which unfolded themſelves ſlowly, and were late in attaining maturity; he was accuſtomed to ponder every ſubject that demanded his conſideration with a careful and delibe ate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a ſerious application, undiverted by pleaſure, and hardly relaxed by any amuſement, he revolved it in ſilence, in his own breaſt. He then communicated the matter to his miniſters, and after hearing their opinions, took his reſolution with a deciſive firmneſs, which ſeldom follows ſuch ſlow conſultations. In conſequence of this, Charles's meaſures, inſtead of reſembling the deſultory, and irregular ſallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a conſiſtent ſyſtem, in which all the parts were arranged; the effects were foreſeen,

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. 4to. vol. iii. p. 417—420.

foreſeen, and the accidents were provided for. His promptitude in execution, was no leſs remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He conſulted with phlegm, but he acted with vigour; and did not diſcover greater ſagacity in his choice of the meaſures which it was proper to purſue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his purſuit of them ſucceſsful. Though he had naturally ſo little of the martial turn, that during the moſt ardent and buſtling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive; yet when he choſe at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was ſo formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired ſuch knowledge in the art of war, and ſuch talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and ſucceſs to the moſt able generals of the age. But Charles poſſeſſed, in the moſt eminent degree, the ſcience which is of greateſt importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no miniſter in the cabinet, no ambaſſador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whoſe abilities were inadequate to the truſt which he repoſed in them. Tho' deſtitute of that bewitching affability of manner, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his perſon; he was no ſtranger to the virtues which ſecure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their ſervices with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor diſcovered any jealouſy of their power. Almoſt all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, who have attained the higheſt eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be aſcribed ſo manifeſtly to the ſuperior abilities of the commanders whom he ſet in oppoſition to them, that this might ſeem to detract, in ſome degree, from his own merit, if the talent of diſcovering and employing ſuch inſtruments were not

the

the moſt undoubted proof of his capacity for government.

There were, nevertheleſs, defects in his political character, which muſt conſiderably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was inſatiable; and though there ſeems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of eſtabliſhing an univerſal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his deſire of being diſtinguiſhed as a conqueror, involved him in continual wars, which exhauſted and oppreſſed his ſubjects, and left him little leiſure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every prince who makes the happineſs of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houſes of Auſtria and Burgundy; this opened to him ſuch a vaſt field of enterprize, and engaged him in ſchemes ſo complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of theſe, he had often recourſe to low artifices unbecoming his ſuperior talents, and ſometimes ventured on ſuch deviations from integrity, as were diſhonourable in a great prince. His inſidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conſpicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a compariſon with the open and undeſigning character of his contemporaries, Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occaſioned chiefly by the diverſity of their tempers, muſt be aſcribed in ſome degree to ſuch an oppoſition in the principles of their political conduct, as affords ſome excuſe for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot ſerve as a juſtification of it. Francis and Henry ſeldom acted but from the impulſe of their paſſions, and ruſhed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's meaſures being the reſult of cool reflexion, were diſpoſed into a regular ſyſtem, and carried on upon a concerted plan. Perſons who act in the former manner, naturally purſue the end in view, without

without aſſuming any diſguiſe, or diſplaying much addreſs. Such as hold the latter courſe, are apt, in forming as well as in executing their deſigns, to employ ſuch refinements, as always lead to artifice in conduct, and often degenerate into deceit.

The Character of EPAMINONDAS*.

EPAMINONDAS was born and educated in that honeſt poverty, which thoſe leſs corrupted ages accounted the glorious mark of integrity and virtue. The inſtructions of a Pythagorean philoſopher, to whom he was entruſted in his earlieſt years, formed him to all the temperance and ſeverity peculiar to that ſect, and were received with a docility and pleaſure which beſpoke an ingenuous mind. Muſic, dancing, and all thoſe arts which were accounted honourable diſtinctions at Thebes, he received from the greateſt maſters. In the athletic exerciſes, he became conſpicuous, but ſoon learned to apply particularly to thoſe which might prepare him for the labours and occaſions of a military life. His modeſty and gravity rendered him ready to hear and receive inſtruction; and his genius enabled him to learn and improve. A love of truth, a love of virtue, tenderneſs, and humanity, and an exalted patriotiſm he had learned, and ſoon diſplayed. To theſe glorious qualities, he added penetration and ſagacity, a happineſs in improving every incident, a conſummate ſkill in war, an unconquerable patience of toil and diſtreſs, a boldneſs in enterprize, vigour, and magnanimity. Thus did he become great and terrible in war; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed by the gentler virtues of peace and retirement. He had a ſoul capable

* The Hiſt. of the Life and Reign of Philip, king of Macedon, by Dr. Leland, vol. i. p. 34, 35.

ble of the moſt exalted and diſintereſted friendſhip: The warmth of his benevolence ſupplied the deficiencies of his fortune; his credit and good offices frequently were employed to gain that relief for the neceſſities of others, which his own circumſtances could not grant them: within the narrow ſphere of theſe, were his deſires regularly confined; no temptations could corrupt him; no proſpects of advantage could ſhake his integrity; to the public he appeared unalterably and ſolely devoted; nor could neglect or injuries abate his zeal for Thebes. All theſe illuſtrious qualities he adorned with that eloquence which was then in ſuch repute, and appeared in council equally eminent, equally uſeful to his country, as in action. By him Thebes firſt roſe to ſovereign power, and with him ſhe loſt her greatneſs.

A Compariſon of the Political Principles and Conduct of CATO, ATTICUS, *and* CICERO *.

THE three ſects, which chiefly engroſſed the philoſophical part of Rome, were the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus, and Cicero; who lived together in ſtrict friendſhip, and a mutual eſteem of each other's virtue; but the different behaviour of theſe three, will ſhew by fact and example, the different merit of their ſeveral principles, and which of them was the beſt adapted to promote the good of ſociety.

The Stoics were the bigots or enthuſiaſts in philoſophy; who held none to be truly wiſe or good but themſelves; placed perfect happineſs in virtue, though ſtript of every other good; affirmed all ſins to be equal, all

* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to. vol. ii. p. 564—566.

all deviations from right, equally wicked; to kill a dunghill cock without reaſon, the ſame crime as to kill a parent; that a wiſe man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favor, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind. With theſe principles, Cato entered into public life; and acted in it, as Cicero ſays, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus. He made no diſtinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakneſs of the republic, and the power of thoſe who oppreſſed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power not built upon the laws; or to defy it at leaſt, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obſtructions he met with, reſolved ſtill to ruſh on; and either to ſurmount them, or periſh in the attempt; taking it for a baſeneſs and confeſſion of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmoſt libertiniſm, when the public diſcipline was loſt, and the government itſelf tottering, he ſtruggled with the ſame zeal againſt all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a ſuperior force; whilſt the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he could not ſubdue, helped to haſten that ruin, which he was ſtriving to avert: ſo that after a perpetual courſe of diſappointments and repulſes, finding himſelf unable to purſue his old way any farther, inſtead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philoſophy to put an end to his life.

But as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, ſo the Epicureans depreſſed it too low; as thoſe raiſed it to the heroic, theſe debaſed it to the brutal ſtate: they held pleaſure to be the chief good of man; death the extinction of his being; and placed their happineſs conſequently in the ſecure enjoyment of a pleaſurable life: eſteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleaſure; and helped to enſure the poſſeſſion of it, by preſerving health and conciliating friends. Their wiſe man therefore had no other

other duty, but to provide for his own eaſe; to decline all ſtruggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate the life of their Gods; by paſſing his days in a calm, contemplative, undiſturbed repoſe, in the midſt of rural ſhades and pleaſant gardens. This was the ſcheme that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be uſeful to ſociety; great parts, learning, judgment, candor, benevolence, generoſity, the ſame love of his country, and the ſame ſentiments in politics with Cicero; whom he was always adviſing and urging to act, yet determined never to act himſelf; or never at leaſt ſo far, as to diſturb his eaſe, or endanger his ſafety. For though he was ſo ſtrictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an intereſt all the while with the oppoſite faction, and a friendſhip even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony; that he might ſecure, againſt all events, the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their miſtaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philoſophy, were made uſeleſs in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and expoſing himſelf to dangers, without the proſpect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, reſolving never to act at all.

Cicero choſe the middle way between the obſtinacy of Cato and the indolence of Atticus; he preferred always the readieſt road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that ſeemed likely to bring him to the ſame end; and in politics as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himſelf with the probable. He often compares the ſtateſman to the pilot; whoſe art conſiſts, in managing every turn of the winds, and applying even the moſt perverſe to the progreſs of his voyage; ſo as by changing his courſe and enlarging his circuit of ſailing, to arrive with ſafety, though later at his deſtined port. He mentions likewiſe an obſervation which long experience had confirmed to him, that none of the popular

and

and ambitious, who aſpired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the republic, ever choſe to obtain their ends from the people, till they had firſt been repulſed by the ſenate. This was verified by all their civil diſſenſions from the Gracchi, down to Cæſar: ſo that when he ſaw men of this ſpirit at the head of the government, who, by the ſplendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an aſcendant over the populace; it was his conſtant advice to the ſenate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirſt of power by voluntary grants of it, as the beſt way to moderate their ambition, and reclaim them from deſperate councils. He declared contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did ſervice, or at leaſt no hurt; but when faction was grown too ſtrong to be withſtood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but to extract ſome good out of the ill, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if poſſible, to the intereſts of the ſtate. This was what he adviſed, and what he practiſed: and it will account in a great meaſure for thoſe parts of his conduct, which are the moſt liable to exception, on the account of that complaiſance, which he is ſuppoſed to have paid at different times to the ſeveral uſurpers of illegal power.

AN HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

PART III.

Of the Origin and natural Revolutions of Civil Government *.

AMONG thoſe who have treated of civil government in the way of ſcience, the greateſt part have diſtinguiſhed it into three ſeveral kinds: Royalty, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy. But it may very reaſonably be demanded of theſe writers, whether they ſpeak of theſe as the only kinds, or ſimply as the beſt. In either caſe, indeed, they muſt be charged with error. For firſt, that kind of government is undoubtedly to be eſteemed the beſt, which is compoſed of all the three now mentioned. The proof of this is evident, from experience and from fact, as well as reaſon. Such, for example, was the ſyſtem firſt invented by Lycurgus, and eſtabliſhed by him in Sparta. Nor is it true, on the other hand, that theſe are the only kinds. For many are the examples of monarchical and tyrannical governments, which are greatly different from royalty; though

* Polybius, book vi. See a publication by Mr. Hampton, intitled Two Extracts from the Sixth Book of Polybius, publiſhed ann. 1764.

though they appear indeed to bear ſome kind of reſemblance to it: which gives occaſion to all monarchs to cover themſelves as well as they are able, under this diſguiſe, and falſely to aſſume the regal name. There are likewiſe many oligarchical ſtates, which ſeem to approach nearly in their form to ariſtocracies; though theſe are in truth very widely diſtant from them. The ſame obſervation may be made, with reſpect alſo to democracies. The following illuſtration will ſerve more clearly to explain my meaning.

It is not every government which is conducted by a ſingle ſovereign, that is immediately to be termed a royalty: but that alone, which was at firſt beſtowed by the conſent of thoſe who are governed; and which is adminiſtered according to right reaſon, rather than by force and terror. In the ſame manner, neither is every ſtate to be called an ariſtocracy, which places the ſupreme direction of affairs in the hands of a few; but that only, in which thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed by their prudence and integrity are appointed by free choice to govern. Nor laſtly, is that to be eſteemed a democracy, in which the whole multitude uſurp the liberty of perſuing their own counſels and deſigns without controul. But when we ſee a people, who, from the antient manners of their country, are accuſtomed to pay due worſhip to the gods, to revere their parents, to ſhew reſpect to the aged, and to obey the laws; when in the aſſemblies of citizens like theſe, the reſolutions of the greater part are made the rule of government, then we behold the form of a juſt democracy.

There are therefore ſix different kinds of government: three, which are in the mouths of all men, and which have now been mentioned; and three more, that are allied to theſe by nature; monarchy, oligarchy, and the government of the multitude. Of all theſe, the firſt in order is monarchy, which is eſtabliſhed by the bare work of nature, without any preparation or deſign. From monarchy ariſes royalty; when art has been applied, to correct the vices of the former.

And

And when royalty has degenerated into its congenial evil, which is tyranny; the deſtruction of the latter gives birth to ariſtocracy. This again being changed, according to the natural order of things, into oligarchy; the ſubjects, rouſed to vengeance by oppreſſion, reſiſt the injuſtice of their governors, and eſtabliſh a democracy. And in the laſt place, when the people themſelves become haughty and untractable, and reject all law; to democracy ſucceeds, in the courſe of time, the government of the multitude.

That this deduction is agreeable to truth will be clear to every one, who conſiders with attention the commencement and firſt riſe, as well as the changes, which nature has appropriated to each particular kind of government. And indeed there is no other way, but by obſerving what was the natural birth of every ſtate, to judge with certainty concerning the progreſs of it towards perfection, and from thence to decline and ruin; and to diſcern at what time, in what manner, and into what different form it will at laſt be changed. Above all others, the Roman government may beſt be illuſtrated by ſuch a method of inquiry: becauſe this ſtate, both in its firſt eſtabliſhment, and ſubſequent increaſe, diſplays a cloſe conformity with the ſettled laws, and regular courſe of nature.

I am not ignorant indeed, that Plato and ſome other Philoſophers, have already treated with the greateſt accuracy of the ſeveral forms of government, and their alternate revolutions. But as there are but few that are able to comprehend the length of their diſcourſes, and the variety of matter which they contain; I ſhall endeavour rather to give a ſummary account of thoſe more obvious principles, which are adapted both to common apprehenſion, and to the purpoſes of civil hiſtory. And in caſe that any obſcurity or defect ſhould be found in the general view, the particular detail, which I ſhall afterwards ſubjoin, will afford ample compenſation, by removing every difficulty.

What then are the commencements, and what the original riſe, of political ſocieties? When a deluge, a

peſtilential diſeaſe, a famine, or any other ſimilar cauſe, has brought deſtruction upon the human race; as tradition aſſures us it has happened in former times, and as it is probable it will again hereafter happen; and when all arts and inſtitutions are extinguiſhed alſo in the ſame calamity; from the few, that are left alive, another progeny of men ſprings up: who, being conſcious of their natural weakneſs, and attracted like all other animals, to an union of their own kind, aſſociate themſelves together in a body. At this time therefore it is manifeſt, that he who is ſuperior both in ſtrength and courage, muſt govern and conduct the reſt. For that this is indeed the genuine work of nature, is moſt clearly ſeen in the examples of the ſeveral kinds of animals, which are led by natural inſtinct only, unimproved by reaſon. Such are cocks, bulls, and boars, as well as other kinds: among all theſe, thoſe that are confeſſedly the firſt in ſtrength, are placed at the head of all the herd. Such therefore is the original ſtate of men: when they aſſemble together in a manner not unlike to that of other animals; and are led by thoſe, that are the braveſt and moſt powerful. And this ſtate may properly be called a monarchy: in which the authority of thoſe that govern is meaſured by their ſtrength. But afterwards, when in theſe ſocieties a common education and mutual intercourſe have produced new ſentiments and habits, then firſt commences royalty; then firſt ariſe in the human mind the notions of honourable and baſe, of juſt and unjuſt. Theſe ſentiments, and this change of government, are formed in the following manner.

From the union of the two ſexes, to which all are naturally inclined, children are born. When any of theſe therefore, being arrived at perfect age, inſtead of yielding ſuitable returns of gratitude and of aſſiſtance to thoſe by whom they have been bred, on the contrary attempt to injure them, either by words or actions; it is manifeſt, that thoſe who behold the wrong, after having alſo ſeen the ſufferings and the anxious care, that were ſuſtained by the parents in the nouriſhment

and

and education of their children, muſt be greatly offended and diſpleaſed at ſuch proceeding. For man, who among all the various kinds of animals is alone endowed with the faculty of reaſon, cannot, like the reſt, paſs over ſuch actions with indifference: but will make reflections on what he ſees; and comparing likewiſe the future with the preſent, will not fail to expreſs his indignation at this injurious treatment; to which, as he foreſees, he alſo may at ſome time be expoſed. Thus again, when any one, who has been ſuccoured by another in the time of danger, inſtead of ſhewing the like kindneſs to his benefactor, endeavours at any time to deſtroy or hurt him; it is certain, that all men muſt be ſhocked by ſuch ingratitude; through ſympathy with the reſentment of their neighbour, and from an apprehenſion alſo, that the caſe may be their own. And from hence ariſes in the mind of every man, a certain ſenſe of the nature and force of duty, in which conſiſts both the beginning and end of juſtice. In the ſame manner likewiſe, the man, who in the defence of others is ſeen to throw himſelf the foremoſt into every danger, and even to ſuſtain the fury of the fierceſt animals, never fails to obtain the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe and veneration from all the multitude; while he, who ſhows a different conduct, is purſued with cenſure and reproach. And thus it is, that the people begin to diſcern the nature of things honourable or baſe, and in what conſiſts the difference between them; and to perceive that the former, on account of the advantage that attends them, are fit to be admired and imitated, and the latter to be deteſted and avoided. When he therefore, who poſſeſſes the greateſt power, and is placed at the head of all the reſt, is found always to comply with the general ſentiments, in ſupporting fortitude and merit, and in diſtributing to every one impartial juſtice; the people, no longer dreading his ſuperior force, but paying a willing obedience to his wiſdom, ſubmit themſelves to his authority, and with one conſent maintain him in his government againſt all invaders,

even to extreme old age. And thus the monarch by inſenſible degrees becomes a king; when reaſon takes the rule, in the place of ſtrength and violence. Such are the firſt perceptions among mankind of juſtice and injuſtice, of baſe and honourable; and ſuch the origin and riſe of genuine royalty. For the people not only confirm theſe leaders in the poſſeſſion of the power to which they have been raiſed, but preſerve it to their children likewiſe: being perſuaded that thoſe, who have received their birth and education from virtuous parents, cannot but reſemble them in manners. And if at any time they are diſpleaſed at the conduct of theſe deſcendents, they then chooſe other magiſtrates and kings. But having been taught to diſcern by paſt experience the difference between external faculties and the endowments of the mind, they now appoint to the ſupreme command, not thoſe that excel in bodily ſtrength and vigour, but thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and ſuperior reaſon.

In antient times then, thoſe, who had been once judged worthy to be inveſted with the regal dignity, continued during the remainder of their lives, in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion and exerciſe of government; fortifying all the advantageous poſts; incloſing their towns with walls, and obtaining ſuch an increaſe of territory, as was neceſſary for the ſecurity or the plentiful ſubſiſtance of their ſubjects. And as they aſſumed no great diſtinction either in their dreſs or table, but lived a life that was conformable in every point to that of the other citizens, they raiſed againſt themſelves no envy, nor afforded any matter of offence. But their deſcendents having received the ſovereignty in the courſe of hereditary ſucceſſion, and finding, that all things already were obtained that were convenient for defence, and that the abundance of all neceſſaries exceeded the demands of nature, were ſoon hurried, by the wantonneſs of eaſe and plenty, into an open gratification of every paſſion. They then began to be perſuaded, that it was neceſſary that kings ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from their ſubjects by more ſplendid habits,

and

and be ſerved with more coſtly and luxurious tables; and purſued alſo with full career the indulgence of their amours, however lawleſs, without admitting any contradiction or controul. The firſt of theſe diſorders ſoon excited envy and offence; and the latter, wrath and unrelenting hatred. And from hence the royalty being now converted into tyranny, the diſſolution of it was begun, by machinations formed againſt the perſons of the ſovereigns. Theſe conſpiracies were at firſt contrived, not by men of obſcure or low condition, but by thoſe of nobleſt birth, and who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their courage and exalted ſpirit: for ſuch are at all times moſt impatient of the inſolence of princes. But the people being not leſs offended alſo and enraged, having once obtained ſuch leaders, readily joined their forces in the ſame attempt. And thus the form of royalty and monarchy being utterly deſtroyed, an ariſtocracy grew up, and was eſtabliſhed in its place.

For the people, moved with preſent gratitude towards thoſe who had delivered them from tyranny, reſolved to inveſt them with the government, and ſubmitted themſelves to their guidance and dominion. And theſe being on their part alſo not leſs ſatisfied with the honour that was beſtowed upon them, regarded the good of the community as the only rule of their adminiſtration; and employed their whole care and pains, to promote the happineſs of individuals, as well as to advance the common intereſt of all. But when again the children of theſe governors were raiſed, in the courſe of ſucceſſion likewiſe, to the ſame authority; unpractiſed as they had always been, in hardſhip and misfortune; and unexperienced alſo in that equality and liberty, upon which the government was founded; having been nurtured from their birth in the preheminence and honours of their parents; they began, ſome of them, to accumulate inordinate wealth by fraud and violence; while others, allowing a full indulgence to their paſſions, abandoned themſelves without reſtraint to riot and intemperance, adulteries, and

rapes. And thus the ariſtocracy being now changed into an oligarchy, the paſſions of the multitude were once more inflamed; and the ſame deſtruction followed, that had before fallen upon the kings, when they had degenerated into tyrants. For no ſooner was there found a ſingle citizen, who, being encouraged by the general diſcontent and hatred that ſuch a conduct had occaſioned, was bold enough, either by words or actions, to attempt any thing againſt the governors, than the people with one conſent were ready to concur in the deſign. And when they had killed or driven into baniſhment their oppreſſors, not daring to eſtabliſh royalty, on account of the miſconduct of the former kings, and being deterred alſo by the miſchiefs which they ſtill more lately had experienced, from yielding the ſovereignty to any certain number, they were then forced to have recourſe to the ſingle expedient that was left untried, and to place in themſelves alone their confidence of ſafety. And having aſſumed into their own hands the conduct and the truſt of government, they thus framed a democracy upon the ruins of the oligarchy.

During ſome time afterwards, and while any of thoſe remained alive, who had beheld the miſeries that flowed from the former unequal government, the people were all well pleaſed to maintain this popular ſtate; and thought that nothing was more valuable than equality and liberty. But after the courſe of one or two ſucceſſions, as new men ſprang up, even theſe enjoyments, being now become familiar to them, began, through long uſe and habit, to be leſſened in their eſteem, and to give place to the deſire of pre-eminence and power. Above all the reſt, thoſe who had acquired the greateſt wealth, being eager likewiſe to poſſeſs the ſovereign rule, and not able to obtain it by their own ſtrength and virtue, endeavoured to draw the people to their ſide; ſcattering among them with profuſion all their riches, and employing every method of corruption; till by degrees they had taught them to fix their whole attention upon the gifts by which

which they were ſuſtained, and rendered their avidity ſubſervient to the views of their own wild ambition. And thus the frame of the democracy was diſſolved; and gave place to the rule of violence and force. For when once the people are accuſtomed to be fed without any coſt or labour, and to derive all the means of their ſubſiſtance from the wealth of other citizens; if at this time ſome bold enterprizing leader ſhould ariſe, whoſe poverty has ſhut him out from all the honours of the ſtate, then commences the government of the multitude: who run together in tumultuous aſſemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; aſſaſſinations, baniſhments, and diviſions of lands: till being reduced at laſt to a ſtate of ſavage anarchy, they once more find a maſter and a monarch, and ſubmit themſelves to arbitrary ſway.

Such is the circle in which political ſocieties are revolved; and ſuch the natural order, in which the ſeveral kinds of government are varied, till they are at laſt brought back to that original form, from which the progreſs was begun. With the help of being acquainted with theſe principles, though it may not perhaps be eaſy to foretel the exact time of every alteration that may happen in a ſtate; yet, if our ſentiments are free from prejudice and paſſion, we ſhall very rarely be deceived in judging of the degree, either of exaltation or decline, in which it actually ſubſiſts, or in declaring the form, into which it muſt at laſt be changed.

Of the different Forms of Government *.

THE antient philoſophers treated of government commonly under three heads; the democratic, the ariſtocratic, and the deſpotic. Their attention was chiefly occupied with the varieties of republican government; and they paid little regard to a very important diſtinction, which Mr. Monteſquieu has made between deſpotiſm and monarchy. He too has conſidered government as reducible to three general forms; and, "To underſtand the nature of each, he "obſerves, it is ſufficient to recal ideas which are familiar with men of the leaſt reflection, who admit "three definitions, or rather three facts: that a republic is a ſtate in which the people in a collective "body, or a part of the people, poſſeſs the ſovereign "power: that monarchy is that in which one man "governs, according to fixed and determinate laws: "and a deſpotiſm is that in which one man, without "law, or rule of adminiſtration, by the mere impulſe "of will or caprice, decides, and carries every thing "before him."

Republics admit of a very material diſtinction, which is pointed out in the general definition; that between democracy and ariſtocracy. In the firſt, ſupreme power remains in the hands of the collective body. Every office of magiſtracy, at the nomination of this ſovereign, is open to every citizen, who, in the diſcharge of his duty, becomes the miniſter of the people, and accountable to them for every object of his truſt.

In the ſecond, the ſovereignty is lodged in a particular claſs, or order of men; who being once named, continue for life, or by the hereditary diſtinctions of birth

* Dr. Ferguſon on the Hiſt. of Civil Society, 8vo. p. 107—119.

birth and fortune, are advanced to a ſtation of permanent ſuperiority. From this order and by their nomination, all the offices of magiſtracy are filled; and in the different aſſemblies which they conſtitute, whatever relates to the legiſlation, the execution, or juriſdiction, is finally determined.

Mr. Monteſquieu has pointed out the ſentiments or maxims, from which men muſt be ſuppoſed to act under theſe different governments.

In democracy they muſt love equality; they muſt reſpect the rights of their fellow-citizens; they muſt unite by the common ties of affection to the ſtate. In forming perſonal pretenſions, they muſt be ſatisfied with that degree of conſideration they can procure by their abilities, fairly meaſured with thoſe of an opponent; they muſt labour for the public without hope or profit; they muſt reject every attempt to create a perſonal dependance. Candor, force, and elevation of mind, in ſhort, are the props of democracy; and virtue is the principle of conduct required to its preſervation.

How beautiful a pre-eminence on the ſide of popular government! and how ardently ſhould mankind wiſh for the form, if it tended to eſtabliſh the principle, or were in every inſtance a ſure indication of its preſence!

But perhaps we muſt have poſſeſſed the principle, in order with any hopes of advantage to receive the form; and where the firſt is entirely extinguiſhed, the other may be fraught with evil, if any additional evil deſerves to be ſhunned where men are already unhappy.

At Conſtantinople or Algiers, it is a miſerable ſpectacle when men pretend to act on a foot of equality: they only mean to ſhake off the reſtraints of government, and to ſeize as much as they can of that ſpoil which, in ordinary times, is ingroſſed by the maſter they ſerve.

It is one advantage of democracy, that the principal ground of diſtinction being perſonal qualities, men are claſſed according to their abilities, and to the merit

of their actions. Though all have equal pretenſions to power, yet the ſtate is actually governed by a few. The majority of the people, even in their capacity of ſovereign, only pretend to employ their ſenſes, to feel, when preſſed by national inconveniencies, or threatened by public dangers; and with the ardour which is apt to ariſe in crouded aſſemblies, to urge the purſuits in which they are engaged, or to repel the attacks with which they are menaced.

The moſt perfect equality of rights can never exclude the aſcendant of ſuperior minds, nor the aſſemblies of a collective body govern without the direction of ſelect councils. On this account, popular government may be confounded with ariſtocracy. But this alone does not conſtitute the character of ariſtocratical government. Here the members of the ſtate are divided, at leaſt into two claſſes; of which one is deſtined to command, the other to obey. No merits or defects can raiſe or ſink a perſon from one claſs to the other. The only effect of perſonal character is, to procure the individual a ſuitable degree of conſideration with his own order, not to vary his rank. In one ſituation he is taught to aſſume, in another to yield the pre-eminence. He occupies the ſtation of patron or client, and is either the ſovereign or the ſubject of his country. The whole citizens may unite in executing the plans of ſtate, but never in deliberating on its meaſures, or enacting its laws. What belongs to the whole people under democracy, is here confined to a part. Members of the ſuperior order are among themſelves, poſſibly, claſſed according to their abilities, but retain a perpetual aſcendant over thoſe of inferior ſtation. They are at once the ſervants and the maſters of the ſtate, and pay with their perſonal attendance and with their blood, for the civil or military honours they enjoy.

To maintain for himſelf, and to admit in his fellow-citizen, a perfect equality of privilege and ſtation, is no longer the leading maxim of the member of ſuch a community. The rights of men are modified by their condition,

condition. One order claims more than it is willing to yield; the other muſt be ready to yield what it does not aſſume to itſelf: and it is with good reaſon that Mr. Monteſquieu gives to the principle of ſuch governments the name of moderation, not of virtue.

The elevation of one claſs is a moderated arrogance; the ſubmiſſion of the other a limited deference. The firſt muſt be careful, by concealing the invidious part of their diſtinction, to palliate what is grievous in the public arrangement, and by their education, their cultivated manners, and improved talents, to appear qualified for the ſtations they occupy. The other muſt be taught to yield from reſpect and perſonal attachment, what could not otherwiſe be extorted by force. When this moderation fails on either ſide, the conſtitution totters. A populace enraged to mutiny, may claim the right of equality to which they are admitted in democratical ſtates; or a nobility bent on dominion, may chuſe among themſelves, or find already pointed out to them, a ſovereign, who by advantages of fortune, popularity, or abilities, is ready to ſeize for his own family that envied power, which has already carried his order beyond the limits of moderation, and infected particular men with a boundleſs ambition.

Monarchies have accordingly been found with the recent marks of ariſtocracy. There, however, the monarch is only the firſt among the nobles; he muſt be ſatisfied with a limited power; his ſubjects are ranged into claſſes; he finds on every quarter a pretence to privilege, that circumſcribes his authority; and he finds a force ſufficient to confine his adminiſtration within certain bounds of equity and determinate laws.

Under ſuch governments, however, the love of equality is prepoſterous, and moderation itſelf is unneceſſary. The object of every rank is precedency, and every order may diſplay its advantages to their full extent. The ſovereign himſelf owes great part of his authority to the ſounding titles and the dazzling equipage, which he exhibits in public. The ſubordinate

ranks lay claim to importance by a like exhibition, and for that purpoſe, carry in every inſtant the enſigns of their birth, or the ornaments of their fortune. What elſe could mark out to the individual, the relation in which he ſtands to his fellow-ſubjects, or diſtinguiſh the numberleſs ranks that fill up the interval between the ſtate of the ſovereign and that of the peaſant? or what elſe could, in ſtates of a great extent, preſerve any appearance of order, among members diſunited by ambition and intereſt, and deſtined to form a community, without the ſenſe of any common concern?

Monarchies are generally found, where the eſtate is enlarged in population and in territory, beyond the numbers and dimenſions that are conſiſtent with republican government. Together with theſe circumſtances, great inequalities ariſe in the diſtribution of property; and the deſire of pre-eminence becomes the predominant paſſion. Every rank would exerciſe its prerogative, and the ſovereign is perpetually tempted to enlarge his own; if ſubjects, who deſpair of precedence, plead for equality, he is willing to favour their claims, and to aid them in procuring what muſt weaken a force, with which he himſelf is, on many occaſions, obliged to contend. In the event of ſuch a policy, many invidious diſtinctions and grievances peculiar to monarchical government, may, in appearance, be removed; but the ſtate of equality to which the ſubjects approach, is that of ſlaves, equally dependant on the will of a maſter, not that of freemen, in a condition to maintain their own.

The principle of monarchy, according to Monteſquieu, is honour. Men may poſſeſs good qualities, elevation of mind and fortitude; but the ſenſe of equality, that will bear no encroachment on the perſonal rights of the meaneſt citizen; the indignant ſpirit that will not court a protection, nor accept as a favour, what is due as a right; the public affection, which is founded on the neglect of perſonal conſiderations, are neither conſiſtent with the preſervation of the conſtitution,

tion, nor agreeable to the habits acquired in any ſtation aſſigned to its members.

Every condition is poſſeſſed of peculiar dignity, and points out a propriety of conduct, which men of ſtation are obliged to maintain. In the commerce of ſuperiors and inferiors, it is the object of ambition, and of vanity, to refine on the advantages of rank; while, to facilitate the intercourſe of polite ſociety, it is the aim of good breeding to diſguiſe or reject them.

Though the objects of conſideration are rather the dignities of ſtation than perſonal qualities; though friendſhip cannot be formed by mere inclination, nor alliances by the mere choice of the heart; yet men ſo united, and even without changing their order, are highly ſuſceptible of moral excellence, or liable to many different degrees of corruption. They may act a vigorous part as members of the ſtate, an amiable one in the commerce of private ſociety; or they may yield up their dignity as citizens, even while they raiſe their arrogance and preſumption as private parties.

In monarchy, all orders of men derive their honours from the crown; but they continue to hold them as a right, and they exerciſe a ſubordinate power in the ſtate, founded on the permanent rank they enjoy, and on the attachment of thoſe whom they are appointed to lead and protect. Though they do not force themſelves into national councils, and public aſſemblies, and though the name of ſenate is unknown; yet the ſentiments they adopt muſt have weight with the ſovereign; and every individual, in his ſeparate capacity, in ſome meaſure, deliberates for his country. In whatever does not derogate from his rank, he has an arm ready to ſerve the community; in whatever alarms his ſenſe of honour, he has averſions and diſlikes, which amount to a negative on the will of his prince.

Intangled together by the reciprocal ties of dependence and protection, though not combined by the ſenſe of a common intereſt, the ſubjects of monarchy, like

like thoſe of republics, find themſelves occupied as the members of an active ſociety, and engaged to treat with their fellow-creatures on a liberal footing. If thoſe principles of honour, which ſave the individual from ſervility in his own perſon, or from becoming an engine of oppreſſion in the hands of another, ſhould fail; if they ſhould give way to the maxims of commerce, to the refinements of a ſuppoſed philoſophy, or to the miſplaced ardours of a republican ſpirit; if they are betrayed by the cowardice of ſubjects, or ſubdued by the ambition of princes; what muſt become of the nations of Europe?

Deſpotiſm, is monarchy corrupted, in which a court and a prince in appearance remain, but in which, every ſubordinate rank is deſtroyed; in which the ſubject is told, that he has no rights; that he cannot poſſeſs any property, nor fill any ſtation, independent of the momentary will of his prince. Theſe doctrines are founded on the maxims of conqueſt; they muſt be inculcated with the whip and the ſword; and are beſt received under the terror of chains and impriſonment. Fear, therefore, is the principle which qualifies the ſubject to occupy his ſtation: and the ſovereign, who holds out the enſigns of terror ſo freely to others, has abundant reaſon to give this paſſion a principal place with himſelf. That tenure which he has deviſed for the rights of others, is ſoon applied to his own; and from his eager deſire to ſecure, or to extend his power, he finds it become, like the fortunes of his people, a creature of mere imagination and unſettled caprice.

Whilſt we thus, with ſo much accuracy, can aſſign the ideal limits that may diſtinguiſh conſtitutions of government; we find them in reality, both in reſpect to the principle and the form, variouſly blended together. In what ſociety are not men claſſed by external diſtinctions, as well as perſonal qualities? In what ſtate are they not actuated by a variety of principles, juſtice, honour, moderation, and fear? It is the purpoſe of ſcience, not to diſguiſe this confuſion in its object,

object, but, in the multiplicity and combination of particulars, to find the principal points which deſerve our attention; and which, being well underſtood, ſave us from the embarraſſment which the varieties of ſingular caſes might otherwiſe create. In the ſame degree in which governments require men to act from principles of virtue, of honour, or of fear, they are more or leſs fully compriſed under the heads of republic, monarchy, or deſpotiſm, and the general theory is more or leſs applicable to their particular caſe.

Forms of government, in fact, mutually approach or recede by many, and often inſenſible gradations. Democracy, by admitting certain inequalities of rank, approaches to ariſtocracy. In popular, as well as ariſtocratical governments, particular men, by their perſonal authority, and ſometimes by the credit of their family, have maintained a ſpecies of monarchical power. The monarch is limited in different degrees: even the deſpotic prince is only that monarch whoſe ſubjects claim the feweſt privileges, or who is himſelf beſt prepared to ſubdue them by force. All theſe varieties are but ſteps in the hiſtory of mankind, and mark the fleeting and tranſient ſituations through which they have paſſed, while ſupported by virtue, or depreſſed by vice.

Perfect democracy and deſpotiſm, appear to be the oppoſite extremes to which conſtitutions of government are ſometimes carried. Under the firſt, a perfect virtue is required; under the ſecond, a total corruption is ſuppoſed: yet in point of mere form, there being nothing fixed in the ranks and diſtinctions of men, beyond the caſual and temporary poſſeſſion of power, ſocieties eaſily paſs from a condition in which every individual has an equal title to reign, into one in which they are equally deſtined to ſerve. The ſame qualities in both, courage, popularity, addreſs, and military conduct, raiſe the ambitious to eminence. With theſe qualities, the citizen or the ſlave eaſily paſſes from the ranks, to the command of an army, from an obſcure to an illuſtrious ſtation. In either, a ſingle

a ſingle perſon may rule with unlimited ſway; and in both, the populous may break down every barrier of order, and reſtraint of law.

If we ſuppoſe, that the equality eſtabliſhed among the ſubjects of a deſpotic ſtate, has inſpired its members with confidence, intrepidity, and the love of juſtice; the deſpotic prince, having ceaſed to be an object of fear, muſt ſink among the croud. If, on the contrary, the perſonal equality, which is enjoyed by the members of a democratical ſtate, ſhould be valued merely as an equal pretenſion to the objects of avarice and ambition, the monarch may ſtart up anew, and be ſupported by thoſe who mean to ſhare in his profits. When the covetous and mercenary aſſemble in parties, it is of no conſequence under what leader they inliſt, whether Cæſar or Pompey; the hopes of rapine or power are the only motives, from which they become attached to either.

In the diſorder of corrupted ſocieties, the ſcene has been frequently changed from democracy to deſpotiſm, and from the laſt too, in its turn, to the firſt. From amidſt the democracy of corrupt men, and from a ſcene of lawleſs confuſion, the tyrant aſcends a throne with arms reeking in blood. But his abuſes, or his weakneſſes, in the ſtation he has gained, in their turn awaken, and give way to the ſpirit of mutiny and revenge. The cries of murder and deſolation, which in the ordinary courſe of military government, terrified the ſubject in his private retreat, are carried through the vaults, and made to pierce the grates and iron doors of the Seraglio. Democracy ſeems to revive in a ſcene of wild diſorder and tumult; but both the extremes are but the tranſient fits of paroxiſm or languor in a diſtempered eſtate.

If men be any where arrived at this meaſure of depravity, there appears no immediate hope of redreſs. Neither the aſcendency of the multitude, nor that of the tyrant, will ſecure the adminiſtration of juſtice: neither the licence of mere tumult, nor the calm of dejection and ſervitude, will teach the citizen that he was born

born for candour and affection to his fellow creatures. And if the ſpeculative would find that habitual ſtate of war, which they are ſometimes pleaſed to honour with the name of the State of Nature, they will find it in the conteſt that ſubſiſts between the deſpotical prince and his ſubjects, not in the firſt approaches of a rude and ſimple tribe, to the condition and the domeſtic arrangement of nations.

Of the Government and Civil Policy of the Americans *.

LIBERTY, in its fulleſt extent, is the darling paſſion of the Americans. To this, they ſacrifice every thing. This is what makes a life of uncertainty and want ſupportable to them, and their education is directed in ſuch a manner, as to cheriſh this diſpoſition to the utmoſt. They are indulged in all manner of liberty; they are never, upon any account, chaſtiſed with blows: they are rarely even chidden. Reaſon, they ſay, will guide their children when they come to the uſe of it; and before that time, their faults cannot be very great: but blows might abate the free and martial ſpirit which makes the glory of their people, and might render the ſenſe of honour duller, by the habit of a ſlaviſh motive to action. When they are grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or ſubordination; even ſtrong perſuaſion is induſtriouſly forborn by thoſe who have influence amongſt them, as what may look too like command, and appear a ſort of violence offered to their will.

On the ſame principle they know no puniſhment but death. They lay no fines, becauſe they have no way

* An Account of the Eur. Settl. in America, vol. i. p. 175—182.

way of exacting them from free men; and the death which they ſometimes inflict, is rather a conſequence of a ſort of war declared againſt a public enemy, than an act of judicial power executed on a citizen or ſubject. This free diſpoſition is general; and though ſome tribes are found in America with an head, whom we call a king, his power is rather perſuaſive than coercive, and he is reverenced as a father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no priſons, no officers of juſtice. The other forms, which may be conſidered as a ſort of ariſtocracy, have no more power. This latter is the more common in North America. In ſome tribes there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to the years of diſcretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of their nation: the reſt are excluded. But amongſt the five nations, or Iroquois, the moſt celebrated commonwealth of North America, and in ſome other nations, there is no other qualification abſolutely neceſſary for their head men, but age, with experience and ability in their affairs. However, there is generally in every tribe, ſome particular ſtocks which they reſpect, and who are conſidered in ſome ſort as their chiefs, unleſs they ſhew themſelves unworthy of that rank; as among the tribes themſelves there are ſome, who, on account of their number or bravery, have a pre-eminence over the reſt; which as it is not exacted with pride and inſolence, nor maintained by tyranny on one hand, ſo it is never diſputed on the other when it is due.

Their great council is compoſed of theſe heads of tribes and families, with ſuch whoſe capacity has elevated them to the ſame degree of conſideration. They meet in a houſe, which they have in each of their towns for the purpoſe, upon every ſolemn occaſion, to receive ambaſſadors, to deliver them an anſwer, to ſing their traditionary war ſongs, or to commemorate their dead. Theſe councils are public. Here they propoſe all ſuch matters concerning the ſtate, as have already been digeſted in their ſecret councils, at which none but the head men aſſiſt. Here it is that their orators

orators are employed, and diſplay thoſe talents which diſtinguiſh them for eloquence and knowledge of public buſineſs; in both of which, ſome of them are admirable. None elſe ſpeak in their public councils; theſe are their ambaſſadors, and theſe are the commiſſioners who are appointed to treat of peace or alliance with other nations. The chief ſkill of theſe orators conſiſts in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expreſſing their thoughts in a bold figurative manner, much ſtronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with geſtures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expreſſive.

When any buſineſs of conſequence is tranſacted, they appoint a feaſt upon the occaſion, of which almoſt the whole nation partakes. There are leſſer feaſts upon matters of leſs general concern, to which none are invited but they who are engaged in that particular buſineſs. At theſe feaſts, it is againſt all rule to leave any thing; ſo that if they cannot conſume all, what remains is thrown into the fire; for they look upon fire as a thing ſacred, and in all probability, theſe feaſts were anciently ſacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal perſon begins a ſong, the ſubject of which, is the fabulous or real hiſtory of their nation, the remarkable events which have happened, and whatever matters may make for their honour or inſtruction. The others ſing in their turn. They have dances too, with which they accompany their ſongs, chiefly of a martial kind; and no ſolemnity or public buſineſs is carried on without ſuch ſongs and dances. Every thing is tranſacted amongſt them with much ceremony, which in a barbarous people is neceſſary; for nothing elſe could hinder all their affairs from going into confuſion; beſides that, the ceremonies contribute to fix all tranſactions the better in their memory.

To help their memory, they have bits of ſmall ſhells or beads of different colours, which have all a different meaning, according to their colour or arrangement. At the end of every matter they diſcourſe upon,

upon, when they treat with a foreign ſtate, they deliver one of theſe belts. If they ſhould omit this ceremony, what they ſay paſſes for nothing. Theſe belts are carefully treaſured up in each town, and they ſerve for the public records of the nation; and to theſe they occaſionally have recourſe, when any conteſts happen between them and their neighbours. Of late, as the matter of which theſe belts is made, is grown ſcarce, they often give ſome ſkin in the place of the wampum, for ſo they call theſe beads in their language, and receive in return, preſents of a more valuable nature; for neither will they conſider what our commiſſioners ſay to be of any weight, unleſs ſome preſent accompanies each propoſal.

The ſame council of their elders which regulates whatever regards the external policy of the ſtate, has the charge likewiſe of its internal peace and order. Their ſuits are few and quickly decided, having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious. Criminal matters come before the ſame juriſdiction, when they are ſo flagrant as to become a national concern. In ordinary caſes, the crime is either revenged or compromiſed by the parties concerned. If a murder is committed, the family which has loſt a relation, prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer, and when this happens, the kindred of the laſt perſon ſlain, look upon themſelves to be as much injured, and think themſelves as much juſtified in taking vengeance, as if the violence had not begun amongſt themſelves. But in general, things are determined in a more amicable manner. The offender abſents himſelf; his friends ſend a compliment of condolance to thoſe of the party murdered; preſents are offered, which are rarely refuſed: the head of the family appears, who in a formal ſpeech, delivers the preſents, which conſiſt often of above ſixty articles, every one of which is given to cancel ſome part of the offence, and to aſſuage the grief of the ſuffering party. With the firſt he ſays, "By this I remove the hatchet from the wound,

and make it fall out of the hands of him that is prepared to revenge the injury:" with the ſecond, "I dry up the blood of that wound;" and ſo on, in apt figures, taking away, one by one, all the ill conſequences of the murder. As uſual, the whole ends in mutual feaſting, ſongs and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the ſame family, or cabbin, that cabbin has the full right of judgment without appeal, within itſelf, either to puniſh the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to force him to give ſome recompenſe to the wife or children of the ſlain. All this while, the ſupreme authority of the nation looks on unconcerned, and never rouſes its ſtrength, nor exerts the fulneſs of a power more revered than felt, but upon ſome ſignal occaſion. Then the power ſeems equal to the occaſion. Every one haſtens to execute the orders of their ſenate; nor ever was any inſtance of diſloyalty or rebellion known amongſt this people. Governed as they are by manners, not by laws; example, education, and the conſtant practice of their ceremonies, give them the moſt tender affection for their country, and inſpire them with a moſt religious regard for their conſtitution and the cuſtoms of their anceſtors. The want of laws and of an univerſal ſtrong coercive power, is not perceived in a narrow ſociety, where every man has his eye upon his neighbour, and where the whole bent of every thing they do is to ſtrengthen thoſe natural ties, by which ſociety is principally cemented. Family love, rare amongſt us, is a national virtue amongſt them, of which all partake. Friendſhips there are amongſt them, fit to vie with thoſe of fabulous antiquity; and where ſuch friendſhips are ſeen to grow, the families concerned congratulate themſelves as upon an acquiſition, that promiſes to them a mutual ſtrength, and to their nation the greateſt honour and advantage.

Of the Progreſs of Manners among the Romans*.

NOW that I have occaſion to mention the Roman manners, I am naturally led to look back a little to paſt ages, and to give a ſhort account of the inſtitutions of our anceſtors, both in war and peace; how they governed the ſtate; and in what grandeur they left it: and how, by a gradual declenſion, it has fallen from the higheſt degree of virtue and glory, to the loweſt pitch of vice and depravity.

The Trojans, as far as I can learn, who were forced to fly from their native country, and wandered up and down, without any fixed abode under the conduct of Æneas, were the founders of Rome, together with the Aborigenes, a barbarous race, ſubject to no laws, and reſtrained by no authority, but altogether independent and unaccountable. It is incredible how eaſily theſe two nations, after they came to inhabit the ſame city, formed into one people, though differing in original, language, and manners. Afterwards, when wholeſome inſtitutions, and an increaſe of territory and inhabitants, had rendered their ſtate ſufficiently flouriſhing and glorious; their opulence, ſuch is the hard fate of almoſt all human affairs, became the object of envy; neighbouring princes and nations fell upon them in war, and but few of their friends came to their aſſiſtance; the reſt, ſtruck with terror, kept at a diſtance from the danger.

The Romans however, fearleſs and undaunted, equally upon their guard, both within and without the walls, acted with ſpirit and reſolution; concerted their meaſures; encouraged one another; boldly faced the enemy; and by their arms protected their liberty, their country and their families; then after having repelled their own dangers, they carried aſſiſtance to their confederates,

* Salluſt, by Mr. Roſe, p. 7—13.

confederates, and procured themſelves alliances, more by conferring than receiving favours.

The form of their government was monarchical, but monarchy circumſcribed by laws; a ſelect number of men, whoſe bodies were indeed enfeebled with years, but their minds in full vigour, formed a council for the direction of public affairs; they were called Fathers, either on account of their age, or a ſimilitude of concern. Afterwards, when the regal government, which was eſtabliſhed for maintaining liberty, and aggrandizing the eſtate, degenerated into pride and tyranny; they aboliſhed it, and created two magiſtrates with annual power; this they thought would be the moſt effectual method to prevent that inſolence, which a long continuance of power generally inſpires.

This change in the form of their government produced a great alteration in their manners; every one now exerted the utmoſt of his capacity in the ſervice of his country, and was ready to diſplay his talents upon all occaſions. For under tyrants, the worthy are more expoſed to jealouſy than the worthleſs; and great abilities are always dreaded by them. It is incredible to relate how much the city increaſed in a ſhort time after the recovery of its liberty, ſo great was the ardour of its citizens for glory. The youth, as ſoon as they were able to bear arms, betook themſelves to the camp, where they were trained up to war by labour and practice; and they took greater pleaſure in fine armour and war horſes, than in lewdneſs and banqueting. To ſuch men, no toils were unuſual, no ſituation grievous, no enemies formidable; their reſolution ſurmounted all difficulties. But their chief conteſt for glory was with one another; every one laboured to ſignalize himſelf in the view of his fellow ſoldiers, by ſtriving to be the firſt in wounding the enemy, and ſcaling the walls. This they reckoned riches, this glory and high rank. They were fond of applauſe, but liberal of money; they deſired only a competent ſhare of riches, but boundleſs glory. I

could relate upon what occaſion a handful of Romans has defeated mighty armies; and what cities ſtrongly fortified by nature, they have taken by aſſault; but this would carry me too far from my undertaking.

Yet ſurely Fortune bears ſovereign influence over every thing; it is ſhe that brightens or obſcures all things more from caprice and humour, than a regard to truth and juſtice. The actions of the Athenians were, I am ready to grant, ſufficiently great and noble, though not to ſuch a degree as fame has repreſented them: but as they had writers of great genius, their atchievements are celebrated throughout the world, as the greateſt that ever were; and the bravery of thoſe who performed them, is reckoned juſt as great as the abilities of theſe illuſtrious authors in extolling them. But the Roman people wanted this advantage; becauſe their ableſt men were the moſt employed in the ſervice of the ſtate. None cultivated their minds without bodily application. The worthieſt men preferred doing to ſpeaking; and choſe rather that others ſhould commend their virtuous actions, than they relate thoſe of others.

Good morals therefore were cultivated both at home and abroad. A ſpirit of perfect harmony and diſintereſtedneſs every where prevailed. Laws had no greater influence in determining them to the practice of juſtice and equity, than natural diſpoſition. The only quarrels, diſſentions, and diſputes they exerciſed, were againſt the public enemy: all the conteſts that ſubſiſted amongſt the citizens, were in virtuous deeds. They were magnificent in their offerings to the Gods; frugal in their families, and faithful to their friends. Bravery in war, and equity and moderation in peace, were the only means by which they ſupported themſelves and the public affairs; and, as the cleareſt evidence of theſe virtues, I find that in time of war, ſuch as engaged the enemy contrary to orders, or continued in the field after a retreat was ſounded, were more frequently puniſhed, than thoſe who abandoned their ſtandards, or quitted their poſts; and in peace,

they

they conducted the adminiſtration more by the force of favours than of terror; and if they received an injury, choſe rather to forgive than revenge it.

But when by probity and induſtry the ſtate was become powerful, when mighty princes were conquered in war; barbarous nations and potent ſtates reduced to obedience; when Carthage, that vied with Rome for the empire of the world, was utterly demoliſhed, and ſea and land lay every where open to her power; then fortune began to exert her malice, and throw every thing into confuſion. Eaſe and riches, the grand objects of the purſuit of others, depreſſed and ruined thoſe, who had, without regret, undergone toils and hardſhips, diſtreſſes and dangers. Firſt, a love of money poſſeſſed their minds; then a paſſion for power; and theſe were the ſeeds of all the evils that followed. For avarice rooted out faith, probity, and every worthy principle; and in their ſtead, ſubſtituted inſolence, inhumanity, contempt of the Gods, and a mercenary ſpirit. Ambition obliged many to be deceitful, to belye with their tongues the ſentiments of their hearts; to value friendſhip and enmity, not according to their real worth, but as they conduced to intereſt; and to have a ſpecious countenance, rather than an honeſt heart. Theſe corruptions, at firſt, grew by degrees, and were ſometimes checked by correction. At laſt, the infection ſpreading like a plague, the ſtate was entirely changed, and the government, from being the moſt righteous and equitable, became cruel and inſupportable.

At firſt indeed, the minds of men were more influenced by avarice than ambition, a vice which has ſome affinity to virtue; for the deſire of glory, power, and preferment, is common to the worthy and the worthleſs, with this difference, that the one purſues them by direct means; the other being void of merit, has recourſe to fraud and ſubtlety; avarice has money for its object, which no wiſe man ever coveted. This vice, as if impregnated with deadly poiſon, enervates both ſoul and body, is always boundleſs and inſatia-

ble; nor are its cravings leſſened by plenty or want. But when Sylla had, by force of arms, made himſelf maſter of the ſtate, and from fair beginnings brought matters to a bloody iſſue, his victorious troops gave themſelves up to rapine and violence; one coveted a houſe, another lands; they obſerved neither meaſure nor moderation, but exerciſed the moſt enormous and inhuman outrages upon the citizens. Beſides, Sylla, to gain the affection of the army, which he had commanded in Aſia, had, contrary to the rules of our anceſtors, allowed them too great latitude, and indulged them in luxury: the warlike tempers of the ſoldiers, who were now without employment, became eaſily enervated by their delicious quarters and a life of pleaſure. There the Roman troops firſt habituated themſelves to lewdneſs and drinking; to admire ſtatues, pictures and ſculpture; to make ſpoil of them both publicly and privately; to plunder the temples of the Gods, and to ravage every thing both ſacred and prophane. An army thus diſpoſed, and victorious too, was ſure to leave nothing to the conquered. For ſucceſs unhinges the minds even of wiſe men; how then ſhould they who were ſo depraved, uſe their victory with moderation?

When riches began to be held in high eſteem, and attended with glory, honour and power; virtue languiſhed, poverty was deemed a reproach, and innocence paſſed for ill-nature. And this luxury, avarice and pride all ſpringing from riches, enſlaved the Roman youth; they wantoned in rapine and prodigality; undervalued their own, and coveted what belonged to others; trampled upon modeſty, friendſhip, and continence; confounded things divine and human, and threw off all manner of conſideration and reſtraint.

To ſee the difference between modern and ancient manners, one needs but take a view of the houſes of particular citizens, both in town and country, all reſembling in magnificence ſo many cities; and then behold the temples of the Gods, built by our anceſtors, the moſt religious of all men. But they thought of no other

other ornament for their temples, than devotion; nor for their houſes, but glory; neither did they take any thing from the conquered, but the power of doing hurt. Whereas their deſcendants, the moſt effeminate of all men, have plundered from their allies, by the moſt flagrant injuſtice, whatever their brave anceſtors left to their conquered enemies; as if the only uſe of power was to do wrong.

It is needleſs to recount other things, which none but thoſe who ſaw them will believe, as the levelling of mountains by private citizens; and even covering the ſea itſelf with fine edifices. Theſe men appear to me to have ſported with their riches, ſince they laviſhed them in the moſt ſhameful manner, inſtead of enjoying them with honour. Nor were they leſs addicted to lewdneſs, and all manner of extravagant gratifications: men proſtituted themſelves like women; women laid aſide all regard to chaſtity; to procure dainties for their tables, ſea and land were ranſacked. They indulged to ſleep before nature craved it; the returns of hunger and thirſt were anticipated with luxury; and cold and fatigue were never ſo much as felt. The Roman youth, after they had ſpent their fortunes, were prompted by ſuch depravations, to commit all manner of enormities; for their minds impregnated with evil habits, and unable to reſiſt their craving appetites, were violently bent upon all manner of extravagancies, and all the means of ſupplying them.

A general Deſcription of the Manners of the AMERICANS *.

THE Aborigines of America, throughout the whole extent of the two vaſt continents which they inhabit, and amongſt the infinite number of nations and tribes into which they are divided, differ very little from each other in their manners and cuſtoms; and they all form a very ſtriking picture of the moſt diſtant antiquity. Whoever conſiders the Americans of this day, not only ſtudies the manners of a remote preſent nation, but he ſtudies in ſome meaſure the antiquities of all nations; from which no mean lights may be thrown upon many parts of the antient authors both ſacred and profane. The learned Lafitau has laboured this point with great ſucceſs in a work which deſerves to be read amongſt us much more than I find it is.

The people of America are tall and ſtraight in their limbs beyond the proportion of moſt nations; their bodies are ſtrong; but of a ſpecies of ſtrength rather fitted to endure much hardſhip, than to continue long at any ſervile work, by which they are quickly conſumed; it is the ſtrength of a beaſt of prey, rather than that of a beaſt of burthen. Their bodies and heads are flattiſh, the effect of art; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce; their hair long, black, lank, and as ſtrong as that of a horſe. No beards. The colour of their ſkin a reddiſh brown, admired amongſt them and improved by the conſtant uſe of bears fat and paint.

When the Europeans firſt came into America, they found the people quite naked, except thoſe parts which it is common for the moſt uncultivated people to conceal,

* See an Account of the European Settlements in America; vol. i. p. 167—175.

ceal. Since that time they have generally a coarſe blanket to cover them, which they buy from us. The whole faſhion of their lives is of a piece, hardy, poor, and ſqualid; and their education from their infancy is ſolely directed to fit their bodies for this mode of life, and to form their minds to inflict and to endure the greateſt evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war. Agriculture is left to the women. Merchandize they contemn. When their hunting ſeaſon is paſt, which they go through with much patience and in which they exert great ingenuity, they paſs the reſt of their time in an entire indolence. They ſleep half the day in their huts, they loiter and jeſt among their friends, and they obſerve no bounds or decency in their eating and drinking. Before we diſcovered them, they had no ſpirituous liquors; but now the acquirement of theſe is what gives a ſpur to their induſtry, and enjoyment to their repoſe. This is the principal end they purſue in their treaties with us, and from this they ſuffer inexpreſſible calamities; for having once begun to drink, they can preſerve no meaſures, but continue a ſucceſſion of drunkenneſs, as long as their means of procuring liquor laſt. In this condition they lie expoſed on the earth to all the inclemency of the ſeaſons, which waſtes them by a train of the moſt fatal diſorders; they periſh in rivers and marſhes; they tumble into the fire; they quarrel and very frequently murder each other; and in ſhort, exceſs in drinking, which with us is rather immoral than very deſtructive, amongſt this uncivilized people; who have not art enough to guard againſt the conſequences of their vices, is a public calamity. The few amongſt them who live free from this evil, enjoy the reward of their temperance in a robuſt and healthy old age. The diſorders which a complicated luxury has introduced and ſupports in Europe, are ſtrangers here.

The character of the Indians is ſtriking. They are grave even to ſadneſs in their deportment upon any ſerious occaſion; obſervant of thoſe in company; reſpectful to the old; of a temper cool and deliberate;

by which they are never in haſte to ſpeak before they have thought well upon the matter, and are ſure the perſon who ſpoke before them has finiſhed all he had to ſay. They have therefore the greateſt contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans, who interrupt each other, and frequently ſpeak all together. Nothing is more edifying than their behaviour in their public councils and aſſemblies. Every man there is heard in his turn according as his years, his wiſdom, or his ſervices to his country have ranked him. Not a word, not a whiſper, not a murmur is heard from the reſt while he ſpeaks. No indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applauſe. The younger ſort attend for their inſtruction. Here they learn the hiſtory of their nation, here they are inflamed with the ſongs of thoſe who celebrate the warlike actions of their anceſtors; and here they are taught what are the intereſts of their country and how to purſue them.

There is no people amongſt whom the laws of hoſpitality are more ſacred, or executed with more generoſity and good will. Their houſes, their proviſions, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a gueſt. To thoſe of their own nation they are likewiſe very humane and beneficent. Has any one of them ſucceeded ill in his hunting? has his harveſt failed? or is his houſe burnt. He feels no other effect of his misfortune, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens, who for that purpoſe have all things almoſt in common. But to the enemies of his country, or to thoſe who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his ſentiments, he appears reconciled, until by ſome treachery or ſurpriſe he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is ſufficient to allay his reſentment; no diſtance of place great enough to protect the object; he croſſes the ſteepeſt mountains, he pierces the moſt impracticable foreſts, and traverſes the moſt hideous bogs and deſerts for ſeveral hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the fatigue of the expedition,

dition, the extremes of hunger and thirſt, with patience and chearfulneſs, in hopes of ſurprizing his enemy, on whom he exerciſes the moſt ſhocking barbarities, even to the eating of his fleſh. To ſuch extremes do the Indians puſh their friendſhip or their enmity; and ſuch indeed, in general, is the character of all ſtrong and uncultivated minds.

Notwithſtanding this ferocity, no people have their anger, or at leaſt the ſhew of their anger, more under their command. From their infancy they are formed with care to endure ſcoffs, taunts, blows, and every ſort of inſult patiently, or at leaſt with a compoſed countenance. This is one of the principal objects of their education. They eſteem nothing ſo unworthy a man of ſenſe and conſtancy as a peeviſh temper and a proneneſs to a ſudden and raſh anger. And this ſo far has an effect, that quarrels happen as rarely among them when they are not intoxicated with liquor, as does the chief cauſe of all quarrels, hot and abuſive language. But human nature is ſuch, that, as virtues may with proper management be engrafted upon almoſt all ſorts of vicious paſſions, ſo vices naturally grow out of the beſt diſpoſitions, and are the conſequence of thoſe regulations that produce and ſtrengthen them. This is the reaſon that, when the paſſions of the Americans are rouſed, being ſhut up as it were, and converging into a narrow point, they become more furious; they are dark, ſullen, treacherous, and unappeaſeable.

A people who live by hunting, who inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change the place of their habitation, are ſeldom very religious. The Americans have ſcarce any temples. We hear indeed of ſome, and thoſe extremely magnificent, amongſt the antient Mexicans and Peruvians; but the Mexicans and Peruvians were comparatively civilized nations. Thoſe we know at preſent in any part of America are no way comparable to them. Some appear to have very little idea of God. Others entertain better notions; they hold the exiſtence of the Supreme Being, eternal and

incorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditionary amongſt them, they give him no ſort of worſhip. There are indeed nations in America, who ſeem to pay ſome religious homage to the ſun and moon; and as moſt of them have a notion of ſome inviſible beings, who continually intermeddle in their affairs, they diſcourſe much of demons, nymphs, fairies, or beings equivalent. They have ceremonies too, that ſeem to ſhew they had once a more regular form of religious worſhip; for they make a ſort of oblation of their firſt fruits; obſerve certain ceremonies at the full moon, and have in their feſtivals many things that very probably came from a religious origin, though they perform them as things handed down to them from their anceſtors, without knowing or enquiring about the reaſon. Though without religion, they abound in ſuperſtitions, as it is common for thoſe to do, whoſe ſubſiſtence depends, like theirs, upon fortune. Great obſervers of omens and dreams, and pryers into futurity with great eagerneſs, they abound in diviners, augurs, and magicians, whom they rely much upon in all affairs that concern them, whether of health, war, or hunting. Their phyſic, which may rather be called magic, is entirely in the hands of the prieſts. The ſick are naturally prone to ſuperſtition, and human help in ſuch caſes is generally found ſo weak, that it is no wonder that, in all countries and ages, people have amuſed themſelves in that diſmal circumſtance of human nature, with the hope of ſupernatural aſſiſtance.

Their phyſicians generally treat them, in whatever diſorder, in the ſame way. That is, they firſt encloſe them in a narrow cabbin, in the midſt of which is a ſtone red hot; on this they throw water, until the patient is well ſoaked with the warm vapour and his own ſweat; then they hurry him from the bagnio and plunge him ſuddenly into the next river. This is repeated as often as they judge neceſſary, and by this method extraordinary cures are ſometimes performed. But it frequently happens too, that this rude method kills the patient

patient in the very operation, eſpecially in the new diſorders brought to them from Europe; and it is partly owing to this manner of proceeding, that the ſmall pox has proved ſo much more fatal to them than to us. It muſt not be denied that they have the uſe of ſome ſpecifics of wonderful efficacy; the power of which they however attribute to the magical ceremonies with which they are conſtantly adminiſtered. And it is remarkable, that purely by an application of herbs they frequently cure wounds, which with us refuſe to yield to the moſt judicious methods.

The loſs of any one of their people, whether by a natural death, or by war, is lamented by the whole town he belongs to. In ſuch circumſtances no buſineſs is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicing permitted, however intereſting the occaſion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. Theſe are always diſcharged with the greateſt ſolemnity. The dead body is waſhed, anointed, and painted, ſo as in ſome meaſure to abate the horrors of death. Then the women lament the loſs with the moſt bitter cries, and the moſt hideous howling, intermixed with ſongs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceaſed, and thoſe of his anceſtors. The men mourn in a leſs extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is interred, habited in their moſt ſumptuous ornaments. With the body of the deceaſed are placed his bow and arrows, with what he valued moſt in his life, and proviſions for the long journey he is to take: for they hold the immortality of the ſoul univerſally, but their idea is groſs. Feaſting attends this, as it does every ſolemnity. After the funeral, they who are nearly allied to the deceaſed conceal themſelves in their huts for a conſiderable time, to indulge their grief. The compliments of condolance are never omitted, nor are preſents wanting upon this occaſion. After ſome time they reviſit the grave; they renew their ſorrow; they new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again the ſolemnities of the firſt funeral.

Of all their inſtances of regard to their deceaſed friends, none is ſo ſtriking as what they call the feaſt of the dead, or the feaſt of ſouls. The day of this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhauſted on this occaſion, and all their ingenuity diſplayed. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feaſt, and to be witneſſes of the ſolemnity. At this time, all who have died ſince the laſt ſolemn feaſt of that kind are taken out of their graves. Thoſe who have been interred at the greateſt diſtance from the villages are diligently ſought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcaſſes. It is not difficult to conceive the horror of this general diſinterment. I cannot paint it in a more lively manner than it is by Lafitau.

"Without queſtion, ſays he, the opening of theſe tombs diſplays one of the moſt ſtriking ſcenes that can be conceived; this humbling portrait of human miſery, in ſo many images of death, wherein ſhe ſeems to take a pleaſure to paint herſelf in a thouſand various ſhapes of horror in the ſeveral carcaſſes, according to the degree in which corruption has prevailed over them, or the manner in which it has attacked them. Some appear dry and withered; others have a ſort of parchment upon their bones; ſome look as if they were baked and then ſmoaked, without any appearance of rottenneſs; ſome are juſt turning towards the point of putrefaction; whilſt others are ſwarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to ſtrike us moſt, the horror of ſo ſhocking a ſight, or the tender piety and affection of theſe poor people towards their departed friends; for nothing deſerves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they diſcharge this melancholy duty of their tenderneſs; gathering up carefully even the ſmalleſt bones; handling the carcaſſes, diſguſtful as they are, with every thing loathſome; cleanſing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their ſhoulders

ders through tireſome journies of ſeveral days, without being diſcouraged by their inſupportable ſtench, and without ſuffering any other emotions to ariſe, than thoſe of regret, for having loſt perſons who were ſo dear to them in their lives, and ſo lamented in their death."

This ſtrange feſtival is the moſt magnificent and ſolemn which they have: not only on account of the great concourſe of natives and ſtrangers, and of the pompous re-interment they give to their dead, whom they dreſs in the fineſt ſkins they can get, after having expoſed them ſome time in this pomp; but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon the occaſion, in the ſpirit of thoſe which the antient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon ſimilar occaſions.

In this manner do they endeavour to ſooth the calamities of life, by the honours they pay their dead; honours, which are the more chearfully beſtowed, becauſe in his turn each man expects to receive them himſelf. Though amongſt theſe ſavage nations this cuſtom is impreſſed with ſtrong marks of the ferocity of their nature; an honour for the dead, a tender feeling of their abſence, and a revival of their memory, are ſome of the moſt excellent inſtruments for ſmoothing our rugged nature into humanity. In civilized nations ceremonies are leſs practiſed, becauſe other inſtruments for the ſame purpoſes are leſs wanted, but it is certain a regard for the dead is antient and univerſal.

Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of the œconomy upon themſelves, yet they are far from being the ſlaves they appear, and are not at all ſubject to the great ſubordination in which they are placed in countries where they ſeem to be more reſpected. On the contrary, all the honours of the nation are on the ſide of the women. They even hold their councils, and have their ſhare in all deliberations which concern the ſtate; nor are they found inferior to the part they act. Polygamy is practiſed by ſome nations, but it is not general. In moſt,

they content themſelves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted, and for the ſame cauſes that it was allowed amongſt the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's preſenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn.

Incontinent before wedlock, after marriage the chaſtity of their women is remarkable. The puniſhment of the adultreſs as well as that of the adulterer, is in the hands of the huſband himſelf; and it is often ſevere, as inflicted by one who is at once the party and the judge. Their marriages are not fruitful, ſeldom producing above two or three children, but they are brought forth with leſs pain than our women ſuffer upon ſuch occaſions, and with little conſequent weakneſs. Probably, that ſevere life, which both ſexes lead, is not favourable to procreation. And the habit unmarried women have of procuring abortions, in which they rarely fail, makes them the more unfit for bearing children afterwards. This is one of the reaſons of the depopulation of America; for whatever loſſes they ſuffer, either by epidemical diſeaſes or by war, are repaired ſlowly.

Almoſt the ſole occupation of the American is war, or ſuch an exerciſe as qualifies him for it. His whole glory conſiſts in this; and no man is at all conſidered until he has increaſed the ſtrength of his country with a captive, or adorned his houſe with a ſcalp of one of its enemies. When the antients reſolve upon war, they do not always declare what nation it is they are determined to attack; that the enemy, upon whom they really intend to fall, may be off his guard. Nay, they even ſometimes let years paſs over without committing any act of hoſtility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger. In the mean time, they are not idle at home. The principal captain ſummons the youth of the town to which he belongs; the

the war kettle is ſet on the fire; the war ſongs and dances commence; the hatchet is ſent to all the villages of the ſame nation, and to all its allies; the fire catches; the war ſongs are heard in all parts; and the moſt hideous howlings continue without intermiſſion day and night, over that whole tract of country. The women add their cries to thoſe of the men, lamenting thoſe whom they have either loſt in war or by a natural death, and demanding their places to be ſupplied from their enemies; ſtimulating the young men by a ſenſe of ſhame, which women know how to excite in the ſtrongeſt manner, and can take the beſt advantage of when excited.

When by theſe, and every other means, the fury of the nation is raiſed to the greateſt height, and all long to embrue their hands in blood; the war captain prepares the feaſt, which conſiſts of dogs fleſh. All that partake of this feaſt, receive little billets, which are ſo many engagements which they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war; but when they have accepted this billet, they are looked upon as liſted, and it is then death to recede. All the warriors in this aſſembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with daſhes and ſtreaks of vermilion, which give them a moſt horrid appearance. Their hair is dreſſed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds. In this aſſembly, which is preparatory to their military expedition, the chief begins the war ſong; which having continued for ſome time, he raiſes his voice to the higheſt pitch, and turning off ſuddenly to a ſort of prayer, addreſſes himſelf to the God of war, whom they call Areſkoni: "I invoke thee, ſays he, to be favourable to my enterprize! I invoke thy care upon me and my family! I invoke ye likewiſe, all ye ſpirits and demons good and evil! All ye that are in the ſkies, or on the earth, or under the earth, to pour deſtruction upon our enemies, and to return me and my companions ſafely to our country." All the warriors join

join him in this prayer, with ſhouts and acclamations. The captain renews his ſong, ſtrikes his club againſt the ſtakes of his cottage, and begins the war dance, accompanied with the ſhouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

The day appointed for their departure being arrived, they take leave of their friends; they change their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendſhip; their wives and female relations go out before them, and attend at ſome diſtance from the town. The warriors march out all dreſt in their fineſt apparel and moſt ſhowy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. The chief walks ſlowly on before them, ſinging the death ſong, whilſt the reſt obſerve the moſt profound ſilence. When they come up to their women, they deliver up to them all their finery, put on their worſt clothes, and then proceed as their commander thinks fit.

Their motives for engaging in a war, are rarely thoſe views which excite us to it. They have no other end but the glory of the victory, or the benefit of the ſlaves which it enables them to add to their nation, or ſacrifice to their brutal fury; and it is rare that they take any pains to give their wars even a colour of juſtice. It is no way uncommon among them, for the young men to make feaſts of dogs fleſh, and dances, in ſmall parties, in the midſt of the moſt profound peace. They fall ſometimes on one nation, and ſometimes on another, and ſurprize ſome of their hunters, whom they ſcalp and bring home as priſoners. Their ſenators wink at this, or rather encourage it, as it tends to keep up the martial ſpirit of their people, inures them to watchfulneſs and hardſhip, and gives them an early taſte for blood.

The qualities in an Indian war, are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a ſurprize; and patience and ſtrength, to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardſhips which always attend it. The nations

of

of America are at an immenſe diſtance from each other, with a vaſt deſart frontier, and hid in the boſom of hideous, and almoſt boundleſs foreſts. Theſe muſt be traverſed before they meet an enemy, who is often at ſuch a diſtance as might be ſuppoſed to prevent either quarrel or danger. But, notwithſtanding the ſecrecy of the deſtination of the party that firſt moves, the enemy has frequent notice of it, is prepared for the attack, and ready to take advantage in the ſame manner of the leaſt want of vigilance in the aggreſſors. Their whole art of war conſiſts in this: they never fight in the open field, but upon ſome very extraordinary occaſions; not from cowardice, for they are brave; but they deſpiſe this method, as unworthy an able warrior, and as an affair in which fortune governs more than prudence. The principal things which help them to find out their enemies, are the ſmoke of their fires, which they ſmell at a diſtance almoſt incredible; and their tracks, in the diſcovery and diſtinguiſhing of which, they are poſſeſſed of a ſagacity equally aſtoniſhing; for they will tell in the footſteps, which to us would ſeem moſt confuſed, the number of men that have paſſed, and the length of time ſince they have paſſed; they even go ſo far as to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral nations by the different marks of their feet, and to perceive footſteps, where we could diſtinguiſh nothing leſs. A mind diligently intent upon one thing, and exerciſed by long experience, will go lengths at firſt view ſcarcely credible. But as they who are attacked have the ſame knowledge, and know how to draw the ſame advantages from it, their great addreſs is to baffle each other in theſe points. On the expedition they light no fire to warm themſelves, or prepare their victuals, but ſubſiſt merely on the miſerable pittance of ſome of their meal mixed with water; they lie cloſe to the ground all day, and march only in the night. As they march in their uſual order in files, he that cloſes the rear, generally covers his own tracks, and thoſe of all who preceded him, with leaves. If any ſtream occurs in their route, they march in it for

a con-

a conſiderable way to foil their purſuers. When they halt to reſt and refreſh themſelves, ſcouts are ſent out on every ſide to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they ſuſpect an enemy may lie perdue. In this manner they often enter a village, whilſt the ſtrength of the nation is employed in hunting, and maſſacre all the helpleſs old men, women and children, or make priſoners as many as they can manage, or have ſtrength enough to be uſeful to their nation.

They often cut off ſmall parties of men in their huntings, but when they diſcover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themſelves flat on their faces amongſt the withered leaves, the colour of which their bodies are painted to reſemble exactly. They generally let a part paſs unmoleſted; and then, riſing a little, they take aim, for they are excellent markſmen, and ſetting up a moſt tremendous ſhout, which they call the war-cry, they pour a ſtorm of muſquet-bullets upon the enemy; for they have long ſince laid aſide the uſe of arrows: the party attacked, returns the ſame cry. Every man in haſte covers himſelf with a tree, and returns the fire of an adverſe party, as ſoon as they raiſe themſelves from the ground to give the ſecond fire.

After fighting ſome time in this manner, the party which thinks it has the advantage, ruſhes out of its cover, with ſmall axes in their hands, which they dart with great addreſs and dexterity; they redouble their cries, intimidating their enemies with menaces, and encouraging each other with a boaſtful diſplay of their own brave actions. Thus being come hand to hand, the conteſt is ſoon decided; and the conquerors ſatiate their ſavage fury, with the moſt ſhocking inſults and barbarities to the dead, biting their fleſh, tearing the ſcalp from their heads, and wallowing in their blood like wild beaſts.

The fate of their priſoners is the moſt ſevere of all. During the greateſt part of their journey homewards, they ſuffer no injury. But when they arrive at the territories of the conquering ſtate, or at thoſe of their allies,

allies, the people from every village meet them, and think they ſhew their attachment to their friends by their barbarous treatment of the unhappy priſoners; ſo that when they come to their ſtation, they are wounded and bruiſed in a terrible manner. The conquerors enter the town in triumph. The war-captain waits upon the head-men, and in a low voice gives them a circumſtantial account of every particular of the expedition, of the damage the enemy has ſuffered, and his own loſſes in it. This done, the public orator relates the whole to the people. Before they yield to the joy which the victory occaſions, they lament the friends which they have loſt in the purſuit of it. The parties moſt nearly concerned, are afflicted apparently with a deep and real ſorrow. But, by one of thoſe ſtrange turns of the human mind, faſhioned to any thing by cuſtom, as if they were diſciplined in their grief, upon the ſignal for rejoicing, in a moment all tears are wiped from their eyes, and they ruſh into an extravagance and phrenzy of joy for their victory.

In the mean time the fate of the priſoners remains undecided, until the old men meet, and determine concerning their diſtribution. It is uſual to offer a ſlave to each houſe that has loſt a friend; giving the preference according to the greatneſs of the loſs. The perſon who has taken the captive, attends him to the door of the cottage to which he is delivered, and with him gives a belt of wampum, to ſhew that he has fulfilled the purpoſe of the expedition, in ſupplying the loſs of a citizen. They view the preſent which is made them for ſome time; and according as they think him or her, for it is the ſame, proper or improper for the buſineſs of the family, or as they take a capricious liking or diſpleaſure to the countenance of the victim, or in proportion to their natural barbarity or their reſentment for their loſſes, they deſtine concerning him, to receive him into the family, or ſentence him to death. If the latter, they throw away the belt with indignation. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to ſave him. The nation is aſſembled as

upon

upon ſome great ſolemnity. A ſcaffold is raiſed, and the priſoner tied to the ſtake. Inſtantly he opens his death ſong, and prepares for the enſuing ſcene of cruelty with the moſt undaunted courage. On the other ſide, they prepare to put it to the utmoſt proof, with every torment, which the mind of man ingenious in miſchief can invent. They begin at the extremities of his body, and gradually approach the trunk. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the fleſh with his teeth; a third thruſts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bole of a pipe made red hot, which he ſmokes like tobacco. Then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two ſtones; they cut circles about his joints, and gaſhes in the fleſhy parts of his limbs, which they ſear immediately with red hot irons, cutting and ſearing alternately; they pull off his fleſh thus mangled and roaſted, bit by bit, devouring it with greedineſs, and ſmearing their faces with the blood, in an enthuſiaſm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the fleſh, they twiſt the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and ſnapping them: whilſt others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs themſelves, in every way that can increaſe the torment. This continues often five or ſix hours together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they ſhall inflict, and to refreſh the ſtrength of the ſufferer, who wearied out with ſuch a variety of unheard of torments, often falls immediately into ſo profound a ſleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awaken him, and renew his ſufferings.

He is again faſtened to the ſtake, and again they renew their cruelty; they ſtick him all over with ſmall matches of wood that eaſily takes fire, but burns ſlowly; they continually run ſharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thruſt out his eyes; and laſtly, after having burned his fleſh from the bones with ſlow fires; after having ſo mangled the body that it is all but one wound;

after

after having mutilated his face in ſuch a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the ſkin from the head, and poured a heap of red hot coals or boiling water on the naked ſkull; they once more unbind the wretch, who blind and ſtaggering with pain and weakneſs, aſſaulted and pelted upon every ſide with clubs and ſtones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every ſtep, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compaſſion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body then is put into the kettle, and this barbarous employment is ſucceeded by a feaſt as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into ſomething worſe than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men, in this ſcene of horror. The principal perſons of the country ſit round the ſtake, ſmoaking and looking on without the leaſt emotion. What is moſt extraordinary, the ſufferer himſelf, in the little intervals of his torments, ſmoaks too, appears unconcerned, and converſes with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there ſeems a conteſt between him and them which ſhall exceed, they in inflicting the moſt horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmneſs and conſtancy almoſt above human. Not a groan, not a ſigh, not a diſtortion of countenance, eſcapes him; he poſſeſſes his mind entirely in the midſt of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and though his reproaches exaſperate them to a perfect madneſs of rage and fury, he continues his reproaches even of their ignorance in the art of tormenting, pointing out himſelf more exquiſite methods, and more ſenſible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for any Indian to behave otherwiſe, as it would be for an European to ſuffer as an Indian.

I do

I do not dwell upon theſe circumſtances of cruelty, which ſo degrade human nature, out of choice; but, as all who mention the cuſtoms of this people have inſiſted upon their behaviour in this reſpect very particularly, and as it ſeems neceſſary to give a true idea of their character, I did not chuſe to omit it. It ſerves to ſhew too, in the ſtrongeſt light, to what an inconceivable degree of barbarity the paſſions of men let looſe will carry them. It will point out to us the advantages of a religion that teaches a compaſſion to our enemies, which is neither known nor practiſed in other religions; and it will make us more ſenſible than ſome appear to be, of the value of commerce, the arts of a civilized life, and the lights of literature; which if they have abated the force of ſome of the natural virtues by the luxury which attends them, have taken out likewiſe the ſting of our natural vices, and ſoftened the ferocity of the human race without enervating their courage.

On the other hand, the conſtancy of the ſufferers in this terrible ſcene ſhews the wonderful power of an early inſtitution, and a ferocious thirſt of glory, which makes men imitate and exceed what philoſophy, or even religion can effect.

The priſoners, who have the happineſs to pleaſe thoſe to whom they are offered, have a fortune altogether oppoſite to that of thoſe who are condemned. They are adopted into the family, they are accepted in the place of the father, ſon, or huſband, that is loſt; and they have no other mark of their captivity, but that they are not ſuffered to return to their own nation. To attempt this would be certain death. The principal purpoſe of the war is to recruit in this manner; for which reaſon a general, who loſes many of his men, though he ſhould conquer, is little better than diſgraced at home; becauſe the end of the war was not anſwered. They are therefore extremely careful of their men, and never chuſe to attack but with a very undoubted ſuperiority, either in number or ſituation.

The

The ſcalps, which they value ſo much, are the trophies of their bravery; with theſe they adorn their houſes, which are eſteemed in proportion as this ſort of ſpoils is more numerous. They have ſolemn days appointed, upon which the young men gain a new name or title of honour from their head-men; and theſe titles are given according to the qualities of the perſon, and his performances; of which theſe ſcalps are the evidence. This is all the reward they receive for the dangers of the war, and the fatigues of many campaigns, ſevere almoſt beyond credit. They think it is abundantly ſufficient to have a name given by their governors; men of merit themſelves, and judges of it; a name reſpected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. There are many other things fit to engage the curioſity, and even afford matter of inſtructive reflection, in the manners of this barbarous people; but theſe ſeem to be the moſt ſtriking, and are ſufficient to give a general idea of them.

An Account of the Manners of the Scots-Highlanders *.

THE Highlanders were compoſed of a number of tribes called Clans, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal, but by the patriarchal bond; for, while the individuals, which compoſed it, were vaſſals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were alſo deſcended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their deſcent; and the right of primogeniture, together with the weakneſs of the laws to reach inacceſſible countries, and more inacceſſible men, had, in the revolution of centuries,

* Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 345—353.

centuries, converted theſe natural principles of connection between the chieftain and his people, into the moſt ſacred ties of human life. The caſtle of the chieftain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained, according to his ſtation, in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the ſound of war. Thus the meaneſt of the clan, knowing himſelf to be as well-born as the head of it, revered in his chieftain his own honour, loved in his clan his own blood, complained not of the difference of ſtation into which Fortune had thrown him, and reſpected himſelf. The chieftain in return beſtowed a protection, founded equally on gratitude, and the conſciouſneſs of his own intereſt. Hence the Highlanders, whom more ſavage nations called ſavage, carried, in the outward expreſſion of their manners, the politeneſs of courts without their vices, and, in their boſoms, the high point of honour without its follies.

In countries where the ſurface is rugged, and the climate uncertain, there is little room for the uſe of the plough; and where no coal is to be found, and few proviſions can be raiſed, there is ſtill leſs for that of the anvil and ſhuttle. As the Highlanders were, upon theſe accounts, excluded from extenſive agriculture and manufactures alike, every family raiſed juſt as much grain, and made as much rayment, as ſufficed for itſelf; and Nature, whom Art cannot force, deſtined them to the life of ſhepherds. Hence, they had not that exceſs of induſtry, which reduces man to a machine, nor that total want of it, which ſinks him into a rank of animals below his own.

They lived in villages built in vallies, and by the ſides of rivers. At two ſeaſons of the year, they were buſy; the one, in the end of ſpring and beginning of ſummer, when they put the plough into the little land they had capable of receiving it, ſowed their grain, and laid in their proviſion of turf for the winter's fewel; the other, juſt before winter, when they reaped their harveſt: the reſt of the year was all their own for

amuſement or for war. If not engaged in war, they indulged themſelves in ſummer in the moſt delicious of all pleaſures, to men in a cold climate, and a romantic country, the enjoyment of the ſun, and of the ſummer views of Nature; never in the houſe during the day, even ſleeping often at night in the open air among the mountains and woods. They ſpent the winter in the chaſe, while the ſun was up; and, in the evening, aſſembled round a common fire, they entertained themſelves with the ſong, the tale, and the dance: but they were ignorant of ſitting days and nights at games of ſkill or of hazard, amuſements which keep the body in inaction, and the mind in a ſtate of vicious activity!

The want of a good, and even of a fine ear for muſic, was almoſt unknown amongſt them; becauſe it was kept in continual practice among the multitude from paſſion, but by the wiſer few, becauſe they knew that the love of muſic both heightened the courage, and ſoftened the tempers of their people. Their vocal muſic was plaintive, even to the depth of melancholy; their inſtrumental either lively for briſk dances, or martial for the battle. Some of their tunes even contained the great, but natural, idea of a hiſtory deſcribed in muſic: the joys of a marriage, the noiſe of a quarrel, the ſounding to arms, the rage of a battle, the broken diſorder of a flight, the whole concluding with the ſolemn dirge, and lamentation for the ſlain. By the loudneſs and artificial jarring of their war inſtrument the bag-pipe, which played continually during the action, their ſpirits were exalted to a phrenzy of courage in battle.

They joined the pleaſures of hiſtory and poetry to thoſe of muſic, and the love of claſſical learning to both; for, in order to cheriſh high ſentiments in the minds of all, every conſiderable family had a hiſtorian who recounted, and a bard who ſung, the deeds of the clan, and of its chieftain: and all, even the loweſt in ſtation, were ſent to ſchool in their youth; partly becauſe they had nothing elſe to do at that age, and partly

partly becauſe literature was thought the diſtinction, not the want of it the mark, of good birth.

The ſeverity of their climate, the height of their mountains, the diſtances of their villages from each other, their love of the chaſe and of war, with their deſire to viſit and be viſited, forced them to great bodily exertions. The vaſtneſs of the objects which ſurrounded them, lakes, mountains, rocks, cataracts, extended and elevated their minds; for they were not in the ſtate of men, who only knew the way from one market-town to another. Their want of regular occupation led them, like the ancient Spartans, to contemplation, and the powers of converſation: powers which they exerted in ſtriking out the original thoughts which Nature ſuggeſted, not in languidly repeating thoſe which they had learned from other people.

They valued themſelves without undervaluing other nations. They loved to quit their own country to ſee and to hear, adopted eaſily the manners of others, and were attentive and inſinuating wherever they went; but they loved more to return home, to repeat what they obſerved, and, among other things, to relate with aſtoniſhment, that they had been in the midſt of great ſocieties, where every individual made his ſenſe of independence to conſiſt in keeping at a diſtance from another. Yet they did not think themſelves entitled to hate or deſpiſe the manners of ſtrangers, becauſe theſe differed from their own; for they revered the great qualities of other nations, and only made their failings the ſubject of an inoffenſive merriment.

When ſtrangers came amongſt them, they received them, not with a ceremony which forbids a ſecond viſit, not with a coldneſs which cauſes repentance of the firſt, not with an embarraſſment which leaves both the landlord and his gueſt in equal miſery, but with the moſt pleaſing of all politeneſs, the ſimplicity and cordiality of affection; proud to give that hoſpitality which they had not received, and to humble the perſons who had thought of them with contempt, by ſhewing how little they deſerved it.

Having

Having been driven from the low countries of Scotland by invaſion, they, from time immemorial, thought themſelves entitled to make repriſals upon the property of their invaders; but they touched not that of each other: ſo that, in the ſame men, there appeared, to thoſe who did not look into the cauſes of things, a ſtrange mixture of vice and of virtue; for, what we called theft and rapine, they termed right and juſtice: but, from the practice of theſe repriſals, they acquired the habits of being enterprizing, artful, and bold.

An injury done to one of a clan, was held as an injury done to all, on account of the common relation of blood. Hence the Highlanders were in the habitual practice of war; and hence their attachment to their chieftain, and to each other, was founded upon the two moſt active principles of human nature, love of their friends, and reſentment againſt their enemies.

But the frequency of war tempered its ferocity: they bound up the wounds of their priſoners, while they neglected their own, and, in the perſon of an enemy, reſpected and pitied the ſtranger.

They went always compleatly armed: a faſhion, which, by accuſtoming them to the inſtruments of death, removed the fear of death itſelf, and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite, and as guarded in their behaviour, as the gentry of other countries.

From theſe combined circumſtances, the higher ranks and the lower ranks of the Highlanders alike joined that refinement of ſentiment, which, in all other nations, is peculiar to the former, to that ſtrength and hardineſs of body, which, in other countries, is poſſeſſed only by the latter.

To be modeſt as well as brave; to be contented with the few things which nature requires; to act and to ſuffer without complaining; to be as much aſhamed of doing any thing inſolent or injurious to others, as of bearing it when done to themſelves; and to die with pleaſure, to revenge the affronts offered to their clan

or their country: theſe they accounted their higheſt accompliſhments.

Their chriſtianity was ſtrongly tinctured with traditions derived from the ancient bards of their country; for they were believers in ghoſts: they marked the appearances of the heavens, and, by the forms of the clouds, which in their variable climate were continually ſhifting, were induced to gueſs at preſent, and to predict future events; and they even thought, that to ſome men the divinity had communicated a portion of his own preſcience. From this mixture of ſyſtem, they did not enter much into diſputes concerning the particular modes of chriſtianity; but every man followed, with indifference of ſentiment, the mode which his chieftain had aſſumed. Perhaps, to the ſame cauſe it is owing, that their country is the only one in Europe, into which perſecution never entered.

Their dreſs, which was the laſt remains of the Roman habit in Europe, was well ſuited to the nature of their country, and ſtill better to the neceſſities of war. It conſiſted of a roll of light woollen, called a Plaid, ſix yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped looſely around the body, the upper lappet of which reſted on the left ſhoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty; a jacket of thick cloth, fitted lightly to the body, and a looſe ſhort garment of light woollen, which went round the waiſt, and covered the thigh. In rain, they formed the plaid into folds, and, laying it on the ſhoulders, were covered as with a roof. When they were obliged to lie abroad in the hills, in their hunting parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid ſerved them both for bed and for covering; for, when three men ſlept together, they could ſpread three folds of cloth below, and ſix above them. The garters of their ſtockings were tied under their knee, with a view to give more freedom to the limb; and they wore no breeches, that they might climb mountains with the greater eaſe. The lightneſs and looſeneſs of their dreſs, the cuſtom they had of going always on foot, never on horſeback, their love of long journeys,

journeys, but, above all, that patience of hunger, and every kind of hardſhip, which carried their bodies forward, even after their ſpirits were exhauſted, made them exceed all other European nations in ſpeed and perſeverance of march. Montroſe's marches were ſometimes ſixty miles in a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through moraſſes. In encampments, they were expert at forming beds in a moment, by tying together bunches of heath, and fixing them upright in the ground: an art, which, as the beds were both ſoft and dry, preſerved their health in the field, when other ſoldiers loſt theirs.

Their arms were a broad-ſword, a dagger, called a Durk, a target, a muſket, and two piſtols: ſo that they carried the long ſword of the Celtes, the *pugio* of the Romans, the ſhield of the ancients, and both kinds of modern fire arms, all together. In battle, they threw away the plaid and under garment, and fought in their jackets, making thus their movements quicker, and their ſtrokes more forcible. Their advance to battle was rapid, like the charge of dragoons: when near the enemy, they ſtopped a little to draw breath and diſcharge their muſkets, which they then dropped on the ground. Advancing, they fired their piſtols, which they threw almoſt at the ſame inſtant againſt the heads of their opponents; and then ruſhed into their ranks with the broad-ſword, threatening and ſhaking the ſword as they ran on, ſo as to conquer the enemy's eye, while his body was yet unhurt. They fought, not in long and regular lines, but in ſeparate bands, like wedges condenſed and firm, the army being ranged according to the clans which compoſed it, and each clan according to its families: ſo that there roſe a competition in valour of clan with clan, of family with family, of brother with brother. To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the ſame thing; becauſe in cloſe engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops could withſtand them. They received the bayonet in the target, which they carried on the left arm; then

turning it aſide, or twiſting it in the target, they attacked with the broad-ſword the enemy incumbered and defenceleſs, and, where they could not wield the broad-ſword, they ſtabbed with the durk. The only foes they dreaded were cavalry, to which many cauſes contributed: the novelty of the enemy; their want of the bayonet to receive the ſhock of horſe; the attack made upon them with their own weapon the broad-ſword; the ſize of dragoon horſes appearing larger to them, from a compariſon with thoſe of their country; but, above all, a belief entertained univerſally among the lower claſs of Highlanders, that a war horſe is taught to fight with his feet and his teeth.

Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the victories of the Highlanders have always been more honourable for themſelves, than of conſequence to others. A river ſtopt them, becauſe they were unaccuſtomed to ſwim; a fort had the ſame effect, becauſe they knew not the ſcience of attack; they wanted cannon, carriages, and magazines, from their poverty and ignorance in the arts; they ſpoke an unknown language, and therefore could derive their reſources only from themſelves. Although their reſpect for their chieftains gave them, as long as they continued in the field, that exact habit of obedience, which only the exceſſive rigour of diſcipline can ſecure over other troops; yet, as ſoon as the victory was gained, they accounted their duty, which was to conquer, fulfilled, and ran many of them home to recount their feats, and ſtore up their plunder; and, in ſpring and harveſt, more were obliged to retire, or leave their women and children to die of famine. Their chieftains too were apt to ſeparate from the army, upon quarrels and points of honour among themſelves and with others.

A Deſcription of the Welſh *.

THE general character of the Welſh, as it was in early times, has been given with ſo much accuracy, ſpirit, and judgment in the writings of Giraldus Cambrenſis, a celebrated contemporary author, and one who was himſelf related to them in blood, that I think it will be proper to collect what he has ſaid in different places, and ſet the whole picture before the eyes of the reader. He tells us, that not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole people of Wales, were univerſally addicted to arms: that they gave no attention to commerce, navigation, or mechanical arts, and but little to agriculture; depending for ſuſtenance chiefly on their cattle; and diſliking or rather diſdaining any labour, except the toils of war and hunting, in which, from their infancy, they trained themſelves up with unwearied alacrity; military exerciſes, or the ſevereſt fatigues in the woods and mountains, being their conſtant diverſions in times of peace. Their bodies were naturally not robuſt, but by this manner of life, they became exceedingly active, hardy, and dextrous in the uſe of their arms, and ever ready to take them up, when occaſion required it. To fight for their country, and loſe their lives in defence of its honour and liberty, was their chief pride: but to die in their beds they thought diſgraceful.

A very honourable teſtimony was given to their valour by King Henry the ſecond, in a letter to the Greek Emperor, Emanuel Comnenus. This prince having deſired that an account might be ſent him of all that was moſt remarkable in the iſland of Britain, Henry in anſwer to that requeſt, was pleaſed to take notice among other particulars, of the extraordinary courage and fierceneſs of the Welſh, who were not

* Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 371—378.

afraid to fight unarmed with enemies armed at all points, willingly ſhedding their blood, in the cauſe of their country, and purchaſing glory at the expence of their lives. But theſe words muſt not be taken in too ſtrict a ſenſe, as if they had abſolutely worn no armour: for they uſed ſmall and light targets, which were commonly made of hides, and ſometimes of iron: but, except their breaſts, which theſe guarded, all the reſt of their bodies were left defenceleſs; nor did they cover their heads with caſques or helmets; ſo that in compariſon of the Engliſh, or other nations in Europe, they might be called unarmed. Their offenſive weapons were arrows and long pikes or ſpears, which were of great uſe againſt cavalry; and theſe they occaſionally either puſhed with, or darted; in which exerciſe the whole nation was wonderfully expert; but more eſpecially the men of North Wales, who had pikes ſo ſtrong and well pointed, that they would pierce through an iron coat of mail: but thoſe of South Wales, and particularly the province of Guent, or Monmouth, which was then a part of that kingdom, were accounted the beſt archers, not being inferior, in the uſe of the long bow, to the Normans themſelves.

The common people fought on foot, but ſome of the nobility rode upon horſes bred in their own country, which were high mettled, and ſwift, but not very ſtrong: and even theſe gentlemen would frequently diſmount, both in combating, and when they fled; the nature of their country as well as their diſcipline, being better adapted to foot than horſe. Their firſt onſet was terrible; but, if ſtoutly reſiſted, they ſoon gave ground and could never be rallied; in which they reſembled other barbarous nations, and particularly the Britons and Celts their forefathers. Yet though defeated and diſperſed, they were not ſubdued, but preſently returned to make war again upon thoſe from whom they had fled, by ambuſcades and night marches, or by ſudden aſſaults when they were leaſt expected; in which their agility,

ſpirit,

ſpirit, and impetuoſity made up what they wanted in weight and firmneſs: ſo that, although they were eaſily overcome in a battle by regular troops, they were with great difficulty vanquiſhed in a war. The ſame vivacity which animated their hearts, inſpired their tongues. They were of quick and ſharp wit, naturally eloquent, and ready in ſpeaking without any awe or concern, before their ſuperiors, or in public aſſemblies. But from this fire in their tempers, they were all very paſſionate, vindictive, and ſanguinary in their reſentments: nor was their revenge only ſudden and violent, when they received any perſonal injury or affront, or while the ſting of it was recent in their minds; but it was frequently carried back, by a falſe ſenſe of honour, even to very remote and traditional quarrels, in which any of their family had been engaged. For not only the nobles and gentry, but even the loweſt amongſt them, had each by heart his own genealogy, together with which he retained a conſtant remembrance of every injury, diſgrace, or loſs his forefathers had ſuffered, and thought it would be degeneracy not to reſent it as perſonal to himſelf; ſo that the vanity of this people with regard to their families, ſerved to perpetuate implacable feuds and a kind of civil war among private men; beſides the diſſentions it excited among their kings and chief lords, which proved the deſtruction of their national union, and conſequently broke their national ſtrength.

They were in their nature very light and inconſtant, eaſily impelled to any undertaking, even the moſt wicked and dangerous, and as eaſily induced to quit it again; deſirous of change, and not to be held by any bonds of faith or oaths, which they violated without ſcruple or ſenſe of ſhame, both in public and private tranſactions. To plunder and rob was ſcarce accounted diſhonourable among them, even when committed againſt their own countrymen, much leſs againſt foreigners. They hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation, it being cuſtomary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial for a ſum

of money paid down, and under a penalty agreed upon between them if the girls were returned. The people in general, and more eſpecially their princes and nobles, gave themſelves up to exceſſive lewdneſs; but were remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, conſtantly faſting till evening, and then making a ſober meal; unleſs when they were entertained at the tables of foreigners, where they indulged themſelves immoderately, both in liquor and food, paſſing at once from their habit of abſtinence to the moſt riotous and brutal exceſs; but nevertheleſs when they came home, they returned with great eaſe to their former courſe of life; and none of their nobles were led by the example of the Engliſh, to run out their fortunes by a profuſeneſs in keeping a table. No kind of luxury was yet introduced into their manner of living; not even a decent convenience or neatneſs. They ſeemed to be proud of not wanting thoſe delicacies which other nations are proud of enjoying. Their kings indeed, and a few of their nobles, had built ſome caſtles in imitation of the Engliſh; but moſt of their gentry ſtill continued to dwell in huts made of wattles and ſituated in ſolitudes, by the ſides of the woods, as moſt convenient for hunting and paſture, or for a retreat in time of war. They had no gardens or orchards, nor any improvements about their dwellings, which they commonly changed every year and removed to other places, (as the Britons and Celts their anceſtors had been accuſtomed to do) for the ſake of freſh paſture and a new ſupply of game.

Their furniture was as ſimple and mean as their houſes, ſuch as might anſwer the mere neceſſities of groſs and uncivilized nature. The only elegance amongſt them was muſick, which they were ſo fond of, that in every family there generally were ſome who played on the harp; and ſkill in that inſtrument was valued by them more than all other knowledge. This greatly contributed to keep up that chearfulneſs which was more univerſal and conſtant in the Welſh than in the Saxons or Normans.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding their poverty, they were ſo hoſpitable that every man's houſe was open to all; and thus no wants were felt by the moſt indigent, nor was there a beggar in the nation. When any ſtranger or traveller came to a houſe, he uſed no other ceremony than, at his firſt entrance, to deliver his arms into the hand of the maſter, who thereupon offered to waſh his feet; which if he accepted, it was underſtood to ſignify his intention of ſtaying there all night; and none who did ſo was refuſed. Whatever the number or quality of their gueſts might happen to be, the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe waited on them, and would not ſit down at table with them, or taſte any food till they had ſupped. The fire was placed in the middle of the room, on each ſide of which was ſpread a coarſe bed of hemp over a thin mat of ruſhes, where the whole family and their gueſts ſlept together, without even a curtain betwixt them. Their feet lay always next to the fire, which being kept burning all night ſupplied the want of bed cloaths, for they had no covering but the cloaths they wore in the day.

It was cuſtomary among them to receive in a morning large companies of young men, who following no occupation but arms, whenever they were not in action ſtrolled over the country, and entered into any houſe that they found in their way, where they were entertained till the evening, with the muſick of the harp and free converſation with the young women of the family: upon which Giraldus Cambrenſis makes this remark, that of all the nations in the univerſe none were more jealous of their women than the Iriſh or leſs than the Welſh. In other reſpects their manners ſo nearly agreed, when that author wrote, as to diſcover the marks of a Celtic origin common to both.

Reflections on the Religion and Uſages of the Gentoos *.

THE Gentoos pretend, that Brumma, the founder of their religion, was a being of ſo exalted a nature, as to be inferior only to God himſelf: of infinite knowledge, and all his words were truth. From the conduct of mankind, as recorded in the hiſtories of other countries, I incline to think, this Brumma was one of thoſe great geniuſes, which Providence, from time to time, beſtows on mankind for the improvement of their happineſs: ſuch were Confucius, Zoroaſter, and I might add Peter the Great, who, had he appeared in a leſs enlightened age, would, I doubt not, when time had caſt a veil over his failings, have been as much revered among the Ruſſians, as theſe men were in their reſpective nations. They date the exiſtence of Brumma many thouſand years beyond our account of the creation. Poſſibly their chronology is no better founded than that of the Chineſe; yet they have undoubted claims to remote antiquity; for the earlieſt accounts we have of them, repreſent them as cultivating all the uſeful arts in great perfection; and to judge by their ſlow progreſs among us, this ſeems to be the work of ages. Perhaps theſe eaſtern countries, peopled in the infancy of the world, never degenerated into that ſtate of barbariſm in which we were ſo long involved; the ſoil and climate were propitious to mankind, and the mind was a ſtranger to the fiercer paſſions, which aroſe from the ſtimulating neceſſities of our more northern climates. The Bramins ſay, that Brumma, their lawgiver, left them a Book, called the Vidam, which contains all his doctrines and inſtitutions. Some ſay the original language in which it was wrote is loſt, and that at preſent they only poſſeſs a comment thereon, called the Shahiſtah, which is wrote

* Luke Scraſton on the Government of Indoſtan, p. 1—17.

wrote in the Sanſcrit language, now a dead language, and known only to the Bramins who ſtudy it. In this they are taught to believe in one ſupreme Being, who has created a regular gradation of beings, ſome ſuperior, and ſome inferior to man: in the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which is to conſiſt of a tranſmigration into different bodies, according to the lives they have led in their pre-exiſtent ſtate. This is all I know of their doctrine on theſe two important ſubjects; and this is believed by the moſt learned of the Bramins. But, from an opinion that ſenſible objects were neceſſary to make this intelligible to the vulgar, theſe doctrines have been taught in allegory: hence images were made of the ſupreme Being, according to the particular attribute they would expreſs; his power, by an image with many hands and ſwords, his wiſdom by an elephant's head, and ſo for the reſt: and this is the principal ſource of all idolatry; for the explanation being loſt, in proceſs of time the images became themſelves the objects of their worſhip; and as the knowledge of the Sanſcrit language is confined to a few of the moſt learned Bramins, theſe alone poſſeſs the magic lanthorn, from which they reflect what objects they pleaſe; and though all the Gentoos of the continent, from Lahor to Cape Comorin, agree in acknowledging the Vidam, yet they have greatly varied in the corruptions of it: and hence different images are worſhipped in different parts; and the firſt ſimple truth of an omnipotent Being is loſt in the abſurd worſhip of a multitude of images, which, at firſt, were only ſymbols to repreſent his various attributes. This is all I ſhall venture to ſay on their doctrinal points; but their cuſtoms are reckoned part of their religion, being ſanctified by the ſuppoſed divine character of their legiſlator. If conjectures are permitted, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that Brumma was king, as well as legiſlator, over all the continent of India, and that the chief points he had in view, were, to attach the people of India to their own country, and to render ſacred whatever cuſtoms he

thought neceſſary to be obſerved in ſuch a climate: Hence their veneration for the three great rivers which water all the country, the Indus, the Kiſtnah, and the Ganges; and hence alſo their veneration for the cow, a creature moſt eſſentially neceſſary in a country where milk is the moſt wholeſome food, and where oxen are ſo uſeful in cultivating the land. But the cuſtom which diſtinguiſhes the Indians from the reſt of mankind, is the diviſion of the natives into tribes.

The four principal tribes, are the Bramins, Soldiers, Labourers, and Mechanics. Theſe are again ſubdivided into a multiplicity of inferior diſtinctions. There are Bramins of various degrees of excellence, who have the care of religion allotted to them. Theſe are held ſacred by the reſt, they ſwear by their heads; they kiſs their feet; and the Bramins have the entire government of their minds; and ſuch as do not follow any worldly purſuits, are ſupported by the reſt, which is a great burden upon the land. It is difficult to draw a general character of the Bramins, as they vary ſo much in their purſuits, and in their degrees of knowledge. Some I have converſed with, acknowledge the errors that have crept into their religion, own one ſupreme Being, laugh at the idolatry of the multitude, but inſiſt upon the neceſſity of working upon the weakneſſes of the vulgar, and will admit of no doubt of the divine character of their legiſlator. Talk to them of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, they ſay, "They "believe it is all very true; but that God has given "different laws, and ordered different forms of wor-"ſhip for different nations, and has preſcribed them "theirs, which their forefathers have practiſed for "many thouſand years, and they have no reaſon to "doubt its being acceptable." For this reaſon they admit no converts, nor are themſelves ever converted, whatever the Roman miſſionaries may pretend; except indeed the Hallachores, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, who are glad to be received into a ſociety where they are treated as fellow creatures. But I much doubt whether there ever was an inſtance of any other of the

Indians being converted by the miſſionaries; and even theſe do no honour to the Chriſtian religion, for as far as my obſervation has reached, theſe half Chriſtians are the moſt abandoned profligate wretches of the human ſpecies. But to return to the Bramins, ſome few there are, who, verſed in their learned languages, ſoar above the vulgar; but the generality are as ignorant as the laity. Such who are not engaged in worldly purſuits, are a very moral ſuperſtitious innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can to man and beaſt; but ſuch who engage in the world are generally the worſt of all the Gentoos; for, perſuaded the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their ſins, and being exempted from the utmoſt rigour of the courts of juſtice, under the Gentoo governments, they run into the greateſt exceſſes.

The Soldiers are commonly called Rajah-poots *. Theſe inhabit chiefly the northern provinces. And it is from hence I conjecture, that the founder of their religion was alſo king of the whole continent, and that he ſent off this tribe to govern the reſt; for in all the ſouthern provinces, the reſt of the inhabitants are quite black; and the family that govern, are a fair-complexioned people, of the colour of thoſe of the northern provinces. Theſe Rajah-poots are much more robuſt than the reſt, have a great ſhare of courage, and a nice ſenſe of military honour, which conſiſts, among them, in fidelity to thoſe they ſerve. Fighting is their profeſſion, and they readily enter into the ſervice of any that will pay them, and will follow wherever he leads; but as ſoon as their leader falls in battle, their cauſe is at an end, and they run off the field without any ſtain to their reputation.

The Labourers are next in rank. This tribe includes farmers, and all who cultivate the land. And the mechanics include merchants, bankers, and all who follow any trade. Theſe again are ſub-divided into each profeſſion. And now I muſt mention the Halla-

* Perſons deſcended from Rajahs.

Hallachores, whom I cannot call a tribe, being rather the refuſe of all the tribes. Theſe are a ſet of poor unhappy wretches, deſtined to miſery from their birth. They perform all the vileſt offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing that is polluted. They are held in ſuch abomination, that on the Malabar ſide of India, if they chance to touch one of a ſuperior tribe, he draws his ſabre, and cuts him down on the ſpot, without any check, either from his own conſcience, or from the laws of the country. How the legiſlator could let ſuch an injuſtice enter into his ſyſtem, I can no otherwiſe account for, than by his ſuppoſing a neceſſity of a regular gradation; and that he was obliged to ſacrifice a portion of his people, to preſerve the purity, or that wherein he defined purity to conſiſt, of the reſt. All the different tribes are kept diſtinct from each other, by inſurmountable barriers. They are forbid to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the ſame veſſel with one of another tribe; and every deviation in theſe points, ſubjects them to be rejected by their tribe, renders them for ever polluted, and they are thence-forward obliged to herd with the Hallachores.

It does not enter into my plan to give you a detail of all their religious follies and ceremonies: let it ſuffice, that amidſt all their errors they agree in thoſe truths which form the harmony of the univerſe, that there is *one ſupreme God, and that he is beſt pleaſed by charity and good works.* Their worſhip and ceremonies at the great temple of Jagernaut ſeem inſtituted to remind them of this; for there the Bramin, the Rajah, the labourer, and mechanic, all preſent their offerings, and eat and drink promiſcuouſly together, as if they would inſinuate, that all thoſe diſtinctions are of human invention, and that in the ſight of God all men are equal. This diviſion into tribes has had two effects on the whole nation. It has occaſioned ſuch a diſunion among them, as has always made them an eaſy prey to every invader; for no man thinks of defending himſelf, unleſs he is of the ſoldier's tribe: and hence it is

that the invaders, who, like Alexander, came in on the northern frontiers, inhabited moſtly by Raja-Poots, have always met a very brave reſiſtance, while thoſe who came in from the ſea, of which more hereafter, have met with very little. But it is the ſame diſtinction alſo, which has preſerved the manufactures among them, maugre all the revolutions and all the oppreſſions introduced by the Mahometans; for while the ſon can follow no other trade than that of his father, the manufactures can be loſt only by exterminating the people.

Their legiſlator has even ordained different kinds of food to the different tribes; but whether this was founded in policy, or in a real perſuaſion of the doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, I will not pretend to ſay. The Bramins touch nothing that has life; their food is milk, vegetables and fruits; and if you ſhew them through a microſcope the inſects on a leaf, inviſible to the naked eye, they ſay it is a deceit, that the objects are in the glaſs, not in the leaf. The ſoldiers are permitted to eat veniſon, mutton, and fiſh. The labourers and mechanics are different according to their ſects and profeſſions; ſome are confined to milk and vegetables; others are permitted fiſh, but nothing further; the privilege of eating fleſh is confined entirely to the ſoldiers, and in general, almoſt without exception, they are remarkable for a temperance that borders on abſtemiouſneſs. Another circumſtance that contributes to form their general character is, their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more remarkable for their conjugal fidelity, in which they are diſtinguiſhed beyond the reſt of their ſex, by that remarkable cuſtom of burning with their huſbands. Many authors aſcribe this to have been inſtituted to prevent their wives poiſoning them; but I am well perſuaded, they often ſubmit to it from a nice ſenſe of honour and conjugal affection. Let it be conſidered, they are brought up together from their infancy; the woman has no opportunity of ever converſing with any other man; her affections are centered ſolely in this

one

one object of her love; she is firmly persuaded, that by being burnt with him, she shall be happy with him in another world; that if she neglects this last token of affection, he may take another wife, and she be separated from him for ever. However false these principles, yet, if those poor women are persuaded they are true, you must allow they are powerful motives. No doubt they are likewise influenced by the disgrace of surviving him; for they are then condemned to a perpetual widowhood, and from mistress of the family, degraded to the state of a menial servant. This affords but an unhappy prospect; whereas, their burning themselves is thought to reflect great honour to the family, and there is no doubt but the dying husband recommends it to her in his last moments. Thus their minds raised to the utmost pitch by this strange commotion of love, grief, and honour, they go through the terrible trial with amazing fortitude. The practice is far from common, and only complied with by those of illustrious families. Nor is it on this occasion only that the Gentoos meet death with fortitude. The men are equally ready to resign their lives to preserve their religious purity, of which we had last year a remarkable instance in three Bramins, who had their daughters forced from them by a Mahometan, beyond the reach of justice: they complained to the governor of the province, but finding no redress, they all swallowed poison, and died at the door of his tent. Also, when the forces came from Madrass, by the unexpected length of the passage, they were greatly reduced for provisions, insomuch that there was no rice for the Gentoo seapoys*, and nothing to serve out to them but beef and pork; but though some did submit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languishing death by famine to life polluted beyond recovery. The Mahometan governors often take advantage of this, when they want to extort money from them; and though they will bear the severest corporal punishment,

* Natives disciplined like Europeans.

niſhment, rather than diſcover their money; yet, when once their religious purity is threatened, they comply, if the ſum is in their power; if not, and the man is beloved by his tribe, they make a ſubſcription to raiſe the money. Fortitude on theſe occaſions is common to all of them, even thoſe who in other dangers appear of moſt daſtardly ſpiritleſs diſpoſitions. Such you ſee is the force of principle, that it has preſerved its efficacy through a ſeries of ages. And when we conſider the dreadful penalties annexed to any deviations from what their religion ordains, we ſhall ceaſe to wonder at the little change that appears among the Indians, compared with the earlieſt accounts we have of them.

There is no forming a general character for a tract of country, extending from Cape Comorin in the latitude 6, to Lahore in 30. The whole of it is divided into little principalities, many of which being tainted with the diſſolute manners of their conquerors, afford a variety of characters, differing according to the climate, the tribes and the government. But in juſtice to the Gentoo religion and cuſtoms, I muſt ſay, that, before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatick country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajahſhips, human nature in no part of the world afforded a finer ſcene of contemplation to a philoſophic mind: Every thing ſeemed calculated to promote agriculture and manufactures.

The fruitfulneſs of theſe hot countries depending entirely on their being well watered, and the rainy ſeaſon being here of very ſhort duration, the preſervation of the water is a principal object: For which reaſon the high lands are mounded in by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains; and theſe reſervoirs are kept up by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain. The roads are planted with rows of large trees, which add to the beauty of the country, and afford a pleaſing and refreſhing ſhade; and every two or three miles are ſtone-buildings called Choultrys, for the convenience

convenience of travellers, who always find Bramins attending to furniſh them with water: And ſo free is the country from robbers, that I doubt there having been an inſtance of one in the memory of man. The diamond merchants, who generally paſs this country, have ſeldom even a weapon of defence, owing to that admirable regulation, which obliges the lord of that ſpot where the robbery is committed, to recover the effects, or make good the value. At the extremity of every town or village are large groves of trees, where the weavers carry on their manufactures, and, if the ſoil will admit, there is a handſome ſtone reſervoir, called a Tank.

In the capital of every conſiderable diſtrict is generally a large temple or pagoda, ſome of them moſt ſtupendous buildings, all of ſtone, the outſide from top to bottom adorned with little images, repreſenting the hiſtory of their gods, and too often their amours, full as bad as any of the ancients. Theſe pagodas are generally built by the Rajahs, or rather by ſucceſſive generations of them, for ſome of them appear to be the work of ages. They conſiſt of ſeveral courts, which contain places for their idols, and apartments for their Bramins, of which there are ſome thouſands, who have generally the revenues of a tract of country aſſigned them for their ſupport.

The Bramins, who in other reſpects have perverted the doctrine of their founder, have however ſtrongly inculcated the virtue of charity, by teaching them how much it will contribute to their happy tranſmigration. Happily for the country they have grafted a vanity on this virtue, which promotes and extends its good effects. It is the height of their ambition to have a temple or choultry called after their name, and reflects more honour to their children, than if their parents had left them immenſe wealth.

What greater proof need we of the goodneſs of the government, than the immenſe revenue their country yields; many of the Gentoo provinces yield a revenue in proportion of extent of country equal to our richeſt countries

countries in Europe; and yet, like us, they have no mines, but draw their wealth from the labour of their hands. Such was the Carnatic before it was ravaged by our late wars. And I have been told, that the Gentoos of the northern provinces ſtill preſerve the Gentoo purity and ſimplicity uncontaminated; but they indeed were never properly ſubdued: The ſucceſſors of Tamerlane made fierce and conſtant war upon them, but always met with a vigorous and brave reſiſtance, and were at laſt convinced it was better to have them as a kind of tributary allies than enemies. Ehbar Shah was the firſt who entered into a treaty with them; his example was followed by ſucceeding emperors; and they long proved an excellent barrier againſt the Afghuans and the northern Tartars: But when the emperors degenerated into lewd monſters and tyrants, they forſook their alliance, and thenceforward the empire was expoſed to the invaſion of the Mharattas, the Perſians, and laſtly of the Afghuans.

The moſt extenſive Gentoo government is that of the Mharattas, who have now almoſt overturned the whole empire, of which more when I come to ſpeak of their government and hiſtory. I ſhall only obſerve here, that they have vaſtly deviated from the true Gentoo character. The military ſpirit that has prevailed among them for the two laſt centuries, has utterly corrupted their manners; their manufactures are totally neglected; commerce is baniſhed; and their Rajahs have laid waſte their own country by their oppreſſion, almoſt as much as that of their enemies, while the generals of their army and their ſoldiery are grown immenſely rich by the plunder of more than half of the Mogul empire. There are a number of Rajahſhips interſperſed throughout India, which by the advantageous ſituation of the country, have either never been ſubdued, or are only tributary to the Mahometans, preſerving their own religion and laws: Such is the Rajahſhip of Tanjour, the Rajah of which two years ago repulſed the veterans of France, commanded by lieutenant-general Lally.

We

We read in ancient authors, that the Brachmans, who I incline to think were a ſet of philoſophers rather than the tribe of Bramins, excelled in aſtronomy, and were famed all over the world for their learning. It is very poſſible they had juſt pretenſions to that character; but in all theſe eaſtern countries, if any man poſſeſſes any ſecret of nature, he only conſiders how he ſhall make uſe of it to delude the ignorant multitude, and attract their veneration; and therefore the key of the Arcana is truſted to very few. For example, I was amazed to ſee, that the Bramins could foretel an eclipſe; and yet aſk them the nature of it, and they tell you an abſurd ſtory of a dragon laying hold of the ſun, and they teach the people to run into the river and make all the noiſe they can, which they perſuade them will frighten the dragon away. This led me to enquire into it, and I found that they are poſſeſſed of a liſt of eclipſes calculated for ſome thouſand years to come. Now, whoever made this liſt muſt certainly have known the motions of the heavenly bodies, whereby it was occaſioned; but it is the ſyſtem of the Bramins, that the vulgar are to be governed only by taking advantage of their ignorance: Therefore we are not to wonder at the exceſſes they run into in judicial aſtrology, which they carry indeed to the higheſt degree of folly. Their almanac, compoſed by the Bramins, has not only a planet or genius that preſides over every day, but over every hour, every minute, and every action; nor do they enter on any new undertaking, without conſulting it, and it requires a concurrence of fortunate circumſtances to form a lucky minute. Some days are fit for going to the north, others to the ſouth; ſome days are ſo entirely taken up by evil ſpirits, that they abſtain from all manner of buſineſs; and a clap of thunder at once breaks their reſolutions, let the almanac ſay what it will: So that between the Mahometan and Gentoo aſtrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head aſtrologer is ever preſent at all their councils; no new enterprize is begun without his being firſt

conſulted;

conſulted; and his veto is as effectual as that of a tribune in the Roman ſenate; the ſtreſs they lay on this really makes it of great conſequence, and the general who ſhould march an army againſt the opinion of the aſtrologer, would be as much condemned, as the Roman general who fought, though the chicken would not feed.

After having ſaid ſo much on the cuſtoms and religion of the Gentoos, I think I may venture to ſay on the whole, that the Gentoos, uninfluenced by the Mahometans, are a meek, ſuperſtitious charitable people, a character formed by their temperance, cuſtoms, and religion. They are almoſt ſtrangers to many of thoſe paſſions that form the pleaſure and pain of our lives. Love, at leaſt all the violent tumults of it, is unknown to the Gentoos, by their marrying ſo young, and by the little intercourſe they have with other women; ambition, is effectually reſtrained by their religion, which has, by inſurmountable barriers, confined every individual to a limited ſphere; and all thoſe follies, ariſing from debauchery, are completely curbed by their abſtaining from all intoxicating liquors. But from hence alſo, they are ſtrangers to that vigor of mind, and all the virtues grafted on thoſe paſſions which animate our more active ſpirits. They prefer a lazy apathy, and frequently quote this ſaying from ſome favourite book: "It is better to ſit than to "walk, to lie down than to ſit, to ſleep than to wake, "and death is beſt of all." Their temperance, and the enervating heat of the climate, ſtarves all the natural paſſions, and leaves them only avarice, which preys moſt on the narroweſt minds. This bias to avarice is alſo prompted by the oppreſſion of the government, for power is ever jealous of the influence of riches. The Rajahs never let their ſubjects riſe above mediocrity; and the Mahometan governors look on the growing riches of a ſubject as a boy does on a bird's neſt; he eyes their progreſs with impatience, then comes with a ſpoiler's hand, and raviſhes the fruit

fruit of their labour. To counter-act this, the Gentoos bury their money under ground, often with ſuch ſecreſy as not to truſt even their own children with the knowledge of it; and it is amazing what they will ſuffer rather than betray it: When their tyrants have tried all manner of corporal puniſhments on them, they threaten to defile them; but even that often fails; for reſentment prevailing over the love of life, they frequently rip up their bowels, or poiſon themſelves, and carry the ſecret to the grave; and the ſums loſt in this manner, in ſome meaſure account why the ſilver in India does not appear to increaſe, though there are ſuch quantities continually coming into it, and none going out of it.

The Gentoos of the lower provinces are a ſlight made people. Rice is their chief food. It ſeems to afford but poor nouriſhment; for ſtrong robuſt men are ſeldom ſeen among them. Though the people in general are healthy, yet they rarely attain to any great age, which is in ſome meaſure made up to them by an early maturity. They are married in their infancy; and conſummate at fourteen on the male ſide, and ten or eleven on the female: and it is common to ſee a woman of twelve with a child in her arms. Though a barren woman is rare among them, yet they bear but few children; for at eighteen their beauty is on the decline, and at twenty-five they are ſtrongly marked with age: The men indeed wear ſomething better, though they alſo are on the decline after thirty. Thus the ſpring of life is but of ſhort duration, and the organs decay before the faculties of the mind can attain to any perfection. Is nature then deficient? Surely not. We always ſee the organs of the body ſuited to the climate; nor do I know a ſtronger or more active race of people than the Mallays, who live moſtly within ſix degrees of the equinoctial: We muſt rather look for it in that early indulgence in venereal pleaſures, their exceſſive abſtemiouſneſs, their ſedentary way of life, and, in Bengal and the conquered provinces,

vinces, in the dejected ſtate of their minds, oppreſſed with the tyranny of their conquerors. No wonder then, that with ſuch cuſtoms, ſuch bodies, and ſuch minds, they fall an eaſy prey to every invader.

Of the Refinement of Manners in Europe from the Overthrow of the Roman *Empire, till the times of* RICHARD III. *of* England *.

THE riſe, progreſs, perfection, and decline of art and ſcience, are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil tranſactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for, but by conſidering the degrees of advancement, which men have reached in thoſe particulars.

Thoſe who caſt their eye on the general revolutions of ſociety, will find, that as all the improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their ſtate of perfection about the age of Auguſtus, there was a ſenſible decline from that point or period; and men thenceforth relapſed gradually into ignorance and barbariſm. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the conſequent deſpotiſm of the monarchs, extinguiſhed all emulation, debaſed the generous ſpirits of men, and depreſſed that noble flame, by which all the refined arts muſt be cheriſhed and enlivened. The military government, which ſoon ſucceeded, rendered even the lives and properties of men inſecure and precarious; and proved deſtructive to thoſe vulgar and more neceſſary arts of agriculture, manufactures and commerce; and in the end to the military art and genius itſelf, by which alone the immenſe fabric of the empire could be ſupported. The irruption of the barbarous

* Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 440.

barous nations, which ſoon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline; and men ſunk every age deeper into ignorance, ſtupidity, and ſuperſtition, till the light of ancient ſcience and hiſtory, had very nearly ſuffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is an ultimate point of depreſſion, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary progreſs, and beyond which they ſeldom paſs either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Chriſtendom were the loweſt ſunk in ignorance, and conſequently in diſorders of every kind, may juſtly be fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conqueror; and from that æra, the ſun of ſcience, beginning to re-aſcend, threw out many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning, when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes and other northern people, who had ſo long infeſted all the coaſts, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a ſettled ſubſiſtance at home, and were no longer tempted to deſert their induſtry, in order to ſeek a precarious livelihood by rapine and by the plunder of their neighbours. The feudal governments alſo, among the more ſouthern nations, were reduced to a kind of ſyſtem; and though that ſtrange ſpecies of civil polity was ill fitted to enſure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preferable to the univerſal licence and diſorder, which had every where preceded it. But perhaps there was no event, which tended farther to the improvement of the age, than one, which has not been much remarked, the accidental finding a copy of Juſtinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalfi in Italy.

The eccleſiaſtics, who had leiſure and ſome inclination to ſtudy, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent ſyſtem of juriſprudence, and ſpread the knowledge of it in every part of Europe. Beſides the intrinſic merit of the performance, it was recommended

to

to them by its original connection with the imperial city of Rome, which, being the ſeat of their religion, ſeemed to acquire a new luſtre and authority, by the diffuſion of its laws over the weſtern world. In leſs than ten years after the diſcovery of the pandects, Vacarius, under the protection of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the univerſity of Oxford; and the clergy every where, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of ſpreading the higheſt eſteem for this new ſcience. That order of men, having large poſſeſſions to defend, were in a manner neceſſitated to turn their ſtudies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their intereſt to enforce the obſervation of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive protection. As they poſſeſſed all the knowledge of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice as well as ſcience of the law, fell moſtly into their hands: and though the cloſe connection, which without any neceſſity they formed between the canon and civil law, begot a jealouſy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman juriſprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the caſe in many ſtates of Europe, a great part of it was ſecretly transferred into the practice of the courts of juſtice, and the imitation of their neighbours made the Engliſh gradually endeavour to raiſe their own law from its original ſtate of rudeneſs and imperfection.

It is eaſy to ſee what advantages Europe muſt have reaped by its inheriting at once from the antients, ſo complete an art, which was of itſelf ſo neceſſary for giving ſecurity to all other arts, and which by refining, and ſtill more by beſtowing ſolidity on the judgment, ſerved as a model to farther improvements. The ſenſible utility of the Roman law both to public and private intereſt, recommended the ſtudy of it, at a time when the more exalted and ſpeculative ſciences carried no charms with them; and thus the laſt branch of an-

tient literature, which remained uncorrupted, was happily the firſt tranſmitted to the modern world. For, it is remarkable that in the decline of Roman learning, when the philoſophers were univerſally infected with ſuperſtition and ſophiſtry, and the poets and hiſtorians with barbariſm, the lawyers, who in other countries are ſeldom models of ſcience or politeneſs, were yet able, by the conſtant ſtudy and cloſe imitation of their predeceſſors, to maintain the ſame good ſenſe in their deciſions and reaſonings, and the ſame purity in their language and expreſſion.

What beſtowed an additional merit on the civil law, was the extreme ignorance and imperfection of that juriſprudence, which preceded it among all the European nations, eſpecially among the Saxons or antient Engliſh. What abſurdities prevailed at that time in the adminiſtration of juſtice, may be conceived from the authentic monuments which remain of the antient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime, where ſtated prices were fixed for men's lives and members, where private revenges were authorized for all injuries, where the uſe of the ordeal, corſnet, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof, and where the judges were ruſtic freeholders, aſſembled of a ſudden, and deciding a cauſe from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a ſtate of ſociety was very little advanced beyond the rude ſtate of nature: violence univerſally prevailed, inſtead of general and equitable maxims: the pretended liberty of the times, was only an incapacity of ſubmitting to government: and men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, ſought ſhelter, by their perſonal ſervility and attachments, under ſome powerful chieftain, or by voluntary combinations.

The gradual progreſs of improvement, raiſed the Europeans ſomewhat from this uncultivated ſtate; and affairs in this iſland particularly, took very early a turn, which was more favourable to juſtice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations ſoon became honourable among the Engliſh: the ſituation of

that people rendered not the perpetual attention to wars ſo neceſſary as among their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profeſſion: the gentry and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law, a requiſite part of education: they were leſs diverted than afterwards from ſtudies of this kind by other ſciences; and in the age of Henry VI. we are told by Forteſcue, there were in the inns of court about two thouſand ſtudents, moſt of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge. A circumſtance, which proves that a conſiderable advance was already made in the ſcience of government, and which prognoſticated ſtill a greater.

One chief advantage, which reſulted from the introduction and progreſs of the arts, was the introduction and progreſs of freedom; and this conſequence affected men both in their perſonal and civil capacities.

If we conſider the antient ſtate of Europe, we ſhall find, that the far greater part of the ſociety were every where bereaved of their perſonal liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their maſters. Every one that was not noble, was a ſlave; the peaſants were ſold along with the land: the few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition: even the gentry themſelves were ſubjected to a long train of ſubordination under the greater barons or chief vaſſals of the crown; who, though ſeemingly placed in a high ſtate of ſplendor, yet having but a ſlender protection from the law, were expoſed to every tempeſt of ſtate, and by the precarious condition, in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppreſſing and tyrannizing over their inferiors. The firſt incident, which broke in upon this violent ſyſtem of government, was the practice begun in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a ſeparate municipal government; which gave them protection againſt the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himſelf deemed it prudent to reſpect. The relaxation of the

feudal tenures, and an execution ſomewhat ſtricter of the public law, beſtowed an independance on vaſſals, which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peaſants themſelves, though later than other orders of the ſtate, made their eſcape from thoſe bands of villenage or ſlavery, in which they had formerly been retained.

It may appear ſtrange that the progreſs of the arts, which ſeems, among the Greeks and Romans, to have daily increaſed the number of ſlaves, ſhould, in later times, have proved ſo general a ſource of liberty; but this difference of the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumſtances, which attended theſe inſtitutions. The antient barons, being obliged to maintain themſelves continually in a military poſture, and little emulous of elegance or ſplendor, employed not their villains as domeſtic ſervants, much leſs as manufacturers, but compoſed their retinue of free-men, whoſe military ſpirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprize. The villains were occupied entirely in the cultivation of the maſter's land, and paid their rents either in corn or cattle and other produce of the farm, or in ſervile offices, which they performed about the baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his own poſſeſſion. In proportion as agriculture improved, and money encreaſed, it was found that theſe ſervices, though extremely burdenſome to the villein, were of little advantage to the maſter; and that the produce of a large eſtate could be much more conveniently diſpoſed of by the peaſant himſelf who raiſed it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accuſtomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for ſervices, and of money rents for thoſe in kind; and as men, in a ſubſequent age, diſcovered, that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a ſecurity of poſſeſſion, the practice of granting leaſes to the peaſant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of ſervitude, already much relaxed from the former practices.

tices. After this manner, villeinage went gradually into diſuſe throughout the more civilized parts of Europe: the intereſt of the maſter, as well as that of the ſlave, concurred in this alteration. The lateſt laws which we find in England for the enforcing or regulating this ſpecies of ſervitude, were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. And tho' the antient ſtatutes on this ſubject remain ſtill unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the reign of Elizabeth, the diſtinction of villein and free-man was totally, though inſenſibly aboliſhed, and that no perſon remained in the ſtate, to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus perſonal freedom became almoſt general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the encreaſe of political or civil liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this ſalutary effect, ſerved to give the members of the community ſome of the moſt conſiderable advantages of it.

The conſtitution of the Engliſh government, ever ſince the invaſion of the iſland by the Saxons, may boaſt of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely abſolute and uncontrouled: but in other reſpects the balance of power has extremely ſhifted among the ſeveral orders of the ſtate; and this fabric has experienced the ſame mutability, which has attended all human inſtitutions.

The antient Saxons, like all the other German nations, where each individual was enured to arms, and where the independence of men was ſecured by a great equality of poſſeſſions, ſeem to have admitted a conſiderable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the freeſt nations, of which there remains any account in the records of hiſtory. After this tribe was ſettled in England, eſpecially after the diſſolution of the heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance ſeems to have inclined to the ſide of the ariſtocracy. The Norman conqueſt threw more authority into the hands of the ſovereign, which, however, admitted of great controul; though

derived leſs from the general forms of the conſtitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independant power enjoyed by each baron in his particular diſtrict or province. The eſtabliſhment of the great Charter exalted ſtill higher the ariſtocracy, impoſed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced ſome mixture of democracy into the conſtitution. But even during this period, from the acceſſion of Edward I. to the death of Richard III. the condition of the commons was nowiſe deſirable; a kind of Poliſh ariſtocracy prevailed; and though the kings were limited, the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almoſt abſolute of the ſovereigns, which took place in the ſubſequent period, to pull down thoſe diſorderly and licentious tyrants, who were enemies to peace and to freedom, and to eſtabliſh that regular execution of the laws, which in a following age, enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of theſe ſucceſſive alterations, the only rule of government, which is intelligible or carries any authority with it, is the eſtabliſhed practice of the age, and the maxims of adminiſtration, which are at that time prevalent, and univerſally aſſented to. Thoſe who from a pretended reſpect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the conſtitution, only cover their turbulent ſpirit and their private ambition, under the appearance of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may ſtill be carried back to a more antient period, where they will find the meaſures of power entirely different, and where every circumſtance, by reaſon of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear ſtill leſs worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the Engliſh, who have happily eſtabliſhed the moſt perfect and moſt accurate ſyſtem of liberty, that ever was found compatible with government, ought to be cautious of appealing to the practice of their anceſtors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their preſent conduct. An acquaintance with

the

the hiſtory of the antient periods of their government, is chiefly uſeful by inſtructing them to cheriſh their preſent conſtitution, from a compariſon or contraſt with the condition of thoſe diſtant times. And it is alſo curious, by ſhowing them the remote, and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the moſt finiſhed and moſt noble inſtitutions, and by inſtructing them in the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a ſmall ingredient of wiſdom and foreſight, in erecting the complicated fabric of the moſt perfect government.

An Account of the Frequency of Aſſaſſinations in the middle Ages *.

THE cauſes which give riſe to aſſaſſination, a practice ſo ſhocking to humanity, deſerve our particular attention. Reſentment is, for obvious and wiſe reaſons, one of the ſtrongeſt paſſions in the human mind. The natural demand of this paſſion is, that the perſon who feels the injury ſhould himſelf inflict the vengeance due on that account. The permitting this, however, would have been deſtructive to ſociety; and puniſhment would have known no bounds, either in ſeverity or in duration. For this reaſon, in the very infancy of the ſocial ſtate, the ſword was taken out of private hands, and committed to the magiſtrate. But at firſt while laws aimed at reſtraining, they really ſtrengthened the principle of revenge. The earlieſt and moſt ſimple puniſhment for crimes was retaliation; the offender forfeited limb for limb, and life for life. The payment of a compenſation to the perſon injured, ſucceeded to the rigour of the former inſtitution. In both theſe, the gratification of private revenge was the object of law; and he who ſuffered the wrong, was the only perſon who had a right to purſue, to exact, or to remit the puniſhment. While laws allowed ſuch full ſcope to the revenge of one party, the

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 311.

intereſts of the other were not neglected. If the evidence of his guilt did not amount to a full proof, or if he reckoned himſelf to be unjuſtly accuſed, the perſon to whom a crime was imputed had a right to challenge his adverſary to ſingle combat, and on obtaining the victory, vindicated his own honour. In almoſt every conſiderable cauſe whether civil or criminal, arms were appealed to, in defence, either of the innocence, or the property of the parties. Juſtice had ſeldom occaſion to uſe her balance; the ſword alone decided every conteſt. The paſſion of revenge was nouriſhed by all theſe means, and grew, by daily indulgence, to be incredibly ſtrong. Mankind became habituated to blood, not only in time of war, but of peace; and from this as well as other cauſes, contracted an amazing ferocity of temper and manners. This ferocity, however, made it neceſſary to diſcourage the trial by combat; to aboliſh the payment of compenſations in criminal caſes; and to think of ſome milder method of terminating diſputes concerning civil rights. The puniſhment for crimes became more ſevere, and the regulations concerning property more fixed; but the princes, whoſe province it was to inflict the one, and to enforce the other, poſſeſſed little power. Great offenders deſpiſed their authority; ſmaller ones ſheltered themſelves under the juriſdiction of thoſe, from whoſe protection they expected impunity. The adminiſtration of juſtice was extremely feeble and dilatory. An attempt to puniſh the crimes of a chieftain, or even of his vaſſals, often excited rebellions and civil wars. To nobles, haughty and independant, among whom the cauſes of diſcord were many and unavoidable, who were quick in diſcerning an injury, and impatient to revenge it; who eſteemed it infamous to ſubmit to an enemy, and cowardly to forgive him; who conſidered the right of puniſhing thoſe who had injured them, as a privilege of their order, and a mark of independency; ſuch ſlow proceedings were extremely unſatisfactory. The blood of their adverſary was, in their opinion, the only thing which could waſh away an affront;

front; where that was not ſhed, their revenge was diſappointed, their courage became ſuſpected, and a ſtain was left upon their honour. That vengeance, which the impotent hand of the magiſtrate would not inflict, their own could eaſily execute; under governments ſo feeble men aſſumed, as in a ſtate of nature, the right of judging and redreſſing their own wrongs. And thus aſſaſſination, a crime of all others the moſt deſtructive to ſociety, came not only to be allowed, but to be deemed honourable.

Of the Natural Deſtruction of mixed Governments *.

THE general object of all mixed governments is the ſame: to avoid on the one hand, tyranny; and on the other, anarchy. The danger of the former is to be feared from different ſides, according to the different diſtribution and allotment of the ſovereign power, and the comparative ſtrength and weakneſs of the ſeveral parts of which the ſyſtem is compoſed. In Rome, for example, if the patricians and the ſenate had retained that ſhare in the ſupreme authority, which they originally poſſeſſed, the conſtitution might, in the courſe of time, have become an oligarchy. In Britain, if the princes had not yielded to the people ſome of their ancient rights, the ſtate muſt long ago have reſted in a ſimple monarchy. In the former of theſe ſtates, the orders oppoſing and oppoſed, controuling and controuled, were the ſenate and people. In the latter, they are the prince and people. In the one, the government could never have been converted by any extenſion of the conſular authority, into royalty: nor can it, in the other, whatever incroach-

* See Mr. Hampton's preface to his publication, entitled Two Extracts from the ſixth book of Polybius.

ments may be attempted by the nobles, ever ſlide into ariſtocracy.

The dread however of an oligarchical tyranny was but of ſhort continuance in Rome. For even from the time of eſtabliſhment of the tribunitian magiſtracy, the ſenate and the nobles were ſo far from being able to invade the privileges of the people, that they were forced to employ continual efforts, to defend and preſerve their own. The dread of an extenſion of the regal powers ſubſiſted indeed for a much longer time in Britain; the ſtate of which, from its earlieſt origin, had inclined to monarchy. But no ſooner were the people become fully ſenſible of the increaſing weight, which the abolition of the ancient tenures, the change of property, and the advantages of extended commerce, had thrown into their ſcale, than the phantom of arbitrary rule, which ſeemed to be advancing with haſty ſtrides, was gradually diminiſhed to the ſight, and at length totally diſappeared. At leaſt every man of candour muſt acknowledge, that, from the revolution to the preſent time, the government has been ſtrongly drawn towards democracy.

The oppoſite evil, anarchy, ſprings always from the ſame ſingle ſource: from an exceſs of power alloted to the people, or extorted by them. By the uſurpations of the people on the ſenate, the frame of the Roman conſtitution was weakened, diſordered, and at laſt diſſolved. The encroachments of the people upon the prince, will moſt probably produce hereafter the ſame effects in Britain; and the ruin of the conſtitution will enſue; not cauſed, as it has commonly been expected and foretold, by the corruption of the legiſlative body, but by the general corruption of the people.

For anarchy, the offspring of popular power, and parent of deſpotic rule, is indeed the natural bane of governments, that are compoſed, like thoſe of Rome and Britain, of the three ſimple forms. Such governments, according to Polybius, terminate in deſpotiſm: not from the abuſe of royalty or ariſtocracy, but from the

the licence of democracy. It ſeems that the people can no longer be intruſted ſafely with the exerciſe of power, than while ſimplicity and moderation, a love of order, and an attention to the public good, direct their deſires to proper objects, and contain their paſſions within reaſonable bounds. The change of manners, that is introduced by time and proſperous events, the preſumption that ariſes from ſucceſs, and the vices that are ſpread among them by an overflow of wealth, ſoon render them alike uncapable of ſubmitting to the authority which they have delegated to others, and of applying to the true ends of government that which they have retained. Obedience then becomes an intolerable conſtraint; the magiſtracies are ſuſpected and oppoſed; and even the ſubordination, that was at firſt eſtabliſhed by themſelves, is judged to be injurious to the rights of liberty. But liberty is loſt, as ſoon as it is emancipated from ſubjection to the laws. Upon theſe principles it was, that this great hiſtorian ventured to foretell, that Rome muſt at laſt return back again to monarchy, and be governed by arbitrary ſway. Yet at that time, the republic flouriſhed in full ſtrength and dignity. The harmony between the ſeveral orders was preſerved intire; and the authority of the ſenate moderated and directed the deliberations of the people. But he foreſaw, that arrogance would ſpring from conqueſt; and that, as the riches of the ſtate increaſed, the antient habits of frugality and temperance, and the ſufficiency that was derived from parſimonious induſtry, would give place to avarice and prodigality, to want and luxury. He foreſaw, that turbulent and ambitious leaders would ariſe; who, by feeding the corruption, and flattering the greatneſs of the people, would ſtrive to obtain from them in return, the means of gratifying their own luſt of wealth and power. In this ſtate of things, the progreſs would be ſhort and certain: from diſſolute manners, to a rejection of all controul; from power uſurped or miſapplied, to tumult, violence, and inteſtine wars; from the tyranny of the contending

heads of many factions, to the deſpotiſm of a ſingle maſter.

Such was in fact the courſe, that determined the fate of Rome. And if reaſon, ſupported by the experience of this great example, may preſume to judge, it ſeems, as I have ſaid, moſt probable, that, by the ſame courſe likewiſe, the ſame fate will ſooner or later be renewed in Britain. For as ſurely as power unreſtrained degenerates into tyranny, ſo ſurely liberty in exceſs becomes at laſt the cauſe of its own deſtruction.

At what preciſe time the change will happen, it may be neither eaſy, nor prudent to determine. Thoſe who have remarked, not only that a great increaſe of power has been thrown into the popular ſcale, but that a contempt alſo of the laws, and an impatience of diſcipline, the effects of opulence and luxury, have already begun to ſhew themſelves among us, may think perhaps, that the era of this ruin lies at no great diſtance; unleſs public virtue ſhould riſe ſuperior to the efforts of aſpiring faction, and the zeal of party be extinguiſhed in a regard for the general good: unleſs thoſe ſhould interpoſe, whoſe proper duty it is, as well as peculiar intereſt to reſiſt the like uſurpations both of the prince and people; to ſtop all deviations from the line of ſafety from what ſide ſoever they proceed; and to bring back the conſtitution to that middle point, in which alone the true poiſe of all mixed government is to be found; the point between the two extremes of popular licence and arbitrary will.

Of Tyranny, and that Tyrants muſt neceſſarily make Uſe of Mercenaries *.

THAT which we properly call tyranny, is, a violent form of government, not reſpecting the good of the ſubject, but only the pleaſure of the commander.

* Sir W. Raleigh's Hiſt. of the World, p. 812, 813.

mander. I purpoſely forbear to ſay that it is, the unjuſt rule of one over many: for very truly doth Cleon in Thucydides tell the Athenians, that their dominion over their ſubjects, was none other, than a mere tyranny; though it were ſo, that they themſelves were a great city, and a popular ſtate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I ſhould call this form of commanding, violent: ſince it may well and eaſily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardleſs of his life and welfare; unleſs himſelf be either a mad man or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of love. The practice of tyranny is not always of a like extremity: for ſome lords are more gentle than others, to their very ſlaves; and he that is moſt cruel to ſome, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheleſs, in large dominions, wherein the rulers diſcretion cannot extend itſelf unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeveral men, it is commonly ſeen, that the taſte of ſweetneſs drawn out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a reliſh, as continually inflames the tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeek out bounds to preſcribe unto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, he ſhould have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have ſpared more. He hath wrung all their purſes, and now he hath enough: but (as covetouſneſs is never ſatisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a ſtock, though it were indeed a good yearly income. Therefore he deviſeth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleaſed with the gains, than with the art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all whom he ſuſpecteth; in which courſe, if he ſuſpect

none unjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deal craftily: but if innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any conſpirator to ſtand in fear, ſince the traitor is no worſe rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other ſecurity, than to diſarm all his ſubjects; to fortify himſelf within ſome ſtrong place; and for defence of his perſon and ſtate to hire as many luſty ſoldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his own country: for if not every one, yet ſome one or other may chance to have a feeling of the public miſery. This conſidered, he allures unto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt unhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to ſupport him, by whoſe only favour they are maintained. Now, leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſs, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward than he doth give, ſhould be drawn to turn his ſword againſt the tyrant himſelf: they ſhall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to raviſh, to murder, and to ſatisfy their own appetites, in moſt outrageous manner, being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hateful to all men elſe. Conſidering in what age and in what language I write; I muſt be fain to ſay, that theſe are not dreams: though ſome Engliſhmen perhaps that were unacquainted with hiſtory, lighting upon this leaf, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be but little better. This is to ſhew both how tyranny grows to ſtand in need of mercenary ſoldiers, and how thoſe mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly aſſured unto the tyrant.

The Variations of Laws among the Romans *.

THE firſt race of men, free as yet from every depraved paſſion, lived without guile and crimes, and therefore without chaſtiſements and reſtraints; nor was there occaſion for rewards, when of their own accord they purſued righteouſneſs: and as they courted nothing contrary to juſtice, they were debarred from nothing by terrors. But, after they had abandoned their original equality, and from modeſty and ſhame to do evil, proceeded to ambition and violence; lordly dominion was introduced and arbitrary rule, and in many nations grew perpetual. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were ſurfeited with kings, preferred the ſovereignty of laws; which agreeable to the artleſs minds of men, were at firſt ſhort and ſimple. The laws in moſt renown, were thoſe framed for the Cretans by Minos; for the Spartans by Lycurgus; and afterwards ſuch as Solon delivered to the Athenians, now greater in number and more exquiſitely compoſed. To the Romans, juſtice was adminiſtred by Romulus according to his pleaſure: after him, Numa managed the people by religious devices and laws divine. Some inſtitutions were made by Tullus Hoſtilius, ſome by Ancus Martius; but above all our laws were thoſe founded by Servius Tullius; they were ſuch as even our kings were bound to obey.

Upon the expulſion of Tarquin, the people, for the ſecurity of their freedom againſt the encroachment and factions of the ſenate, and for binding the public concord, prepared many ordinances: hence were created the decemviri, and by them were compoſed the twelve tables, out of a collection of the moſt excellent inſtitutions found abroad. The period this of all upright and impartial laws. What laws followed, though ſometimes made againſt crimes and offenders, were

* Tacitus, by Gordon, fol. vol. i. p. 125—127.

were yet chiefly made by violence, through the animosity of the two estates, and for seizing unjustly withholden offices, or continuing unjustly in them, or for banishing illustrious patriots, and to other wicked ends. Hence the Gracchi and Saturnini, inflamers of the people; and hence Drusus vying, on behalf of the senate, in popular concessions with these inflamers; and hence the corrupt promises made to our Italian allies, promises deceitfully made, or, by the interposition of some tribune, defeated. Neither during the war of Italy, nor during the civil war, was the making of regulations discontinued; many and contradictory were even then made. At last, Sylla the dictator, changing or abolishing the past, added many of his own, and procured some respite in this matter, but not long; for presently followed the turbulent pursuits and proposals of Lepidus, and soon after were the tribunes restored to their licentious authority of throwing the people into combustions at pleasure. And now laws were not made for the public only, but for particular men, particular laws; and corruption abounding in the commonwealth, the commonwealth abounded in laws.

Pompey was chosen to correct the public enormities, and his remedies proved to the state more grievous than its distempers. He made laws such as suited his ambition, and broke them when they thwarted his will; and lost by arms the regulations, which by arms he had procured. Hence forward for twenty years discord raged, and there was neither law nor settlement; the most wicked found impunity in the excess of their wickedness; and many virtuous men, in their uprightness, met destruction. At length, Augustus Cæsar in his sixth consulship, then confirmed in power without a rival, abolished the orders, which during the triumvirate he had established, and gave us laws proper for peace, and a single ruler. These laws had sanctions severer than any heretofore known: as their guardians, informers were appointed, who by the law Papia Poppea, were encouraged with rewards, to watch

watch ſuch as neglected the privileges annext to marriage and fatherhood, and conſequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the ſame, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people who were the public parent. But theſe informers ſtruck much deeper: by them the whole city, all Italy, and the Roman citizens in every part of the empire, were infeſted and perſecuted: numbers were ſtript of their intire fortunes, and terror had ſeized all; when Tiberius, for a check to this evil, choſe twenty noblemen, five who were formerly conſuls, five who were formerly pretors, with ten other ſenators to review that law. By them, many of its intricacies were explained, its ſtrictneſs qualified; and hence ſome preſent alleviation was yielded.

Of public Virtue *.

IT is a remark of Thucydides, that bad laws well executed are better than good laws not duly obſerved. It is not enough for a nation to have a good conſtitution, unleſs both the governors and people concur in adhering to it with ſtrictneſs. Abuſes once ſuffered to creep in, ſo naturally gain ground, ſo quickly ſpread, that it requires conſtant vigilance to prevent their entrance and growth. A jealouſy for the public is a commendable jealouſy, and if ever the exceſs of any paſſion were juſtifiable, it would ſurely be ſo here. That temper of mind to which we give the name of public ſpirit, is ſo neceſſary to all ſocieties, that it is next to impoſſible they ſhould long ſubſiſt without it. Indeed, whatever difficulties particular men may find in the exerciſe of it, all men agree to commend it. Nor can there be better proof of the excellency of any character, than to ſee the very men who

* This Eſſay by Lord Pagett: See Gordon's Tacitus, 3d edit. vol. v. p. 258.

who reſolve never to deſerve it, taking great pains to make the world believe that they have a right to it.

In times of the greateſt corruption, we do not find, that ever a corrupt man of any ſenſe durſt openly avow his principles, or declare that he made his own intereſt the meaſure of his public conduct. Quite otherwiſe; ſuch men are apt to ſtart at their own picture, and will not forgive thoſe who diſcover their views, and repreſent them in proper colours. Such tenderneſs is prudential; ſince the diſcovery of ill deſigns, is a ſtep towards defeating them. Beſides, men are generally more aſhamed of vices which ſhew the weakneſs of their underſtanding, than of thoſe which unfold the corruption of their hearts. It is a confeſſion of the meanneſs of a ſelfiſh diſpoſition, that men are thus loth to be thought governed by it. Though they would be glad to reap benefit from their low purſuits, they are aſhamed to be detected in contriving them.

It therefore looks as if it were equally renouncing the rules of good ſenſe, and every impulſe of good nature, to be deſtitute of regard for the welfare of the community, or to imagine that any private advantage can ſtand in competition with the proſperity of the whole. For one nation to grow rich by the ſpoils of others, is very unjuſt, yet not always impolitic. But to weaken and impoveriſh our own country, is as fooliſh as it is wicked; ſince private property muſt be very inſecure, when once that of the public is in danger; nor can it be ever more ſo than when it comes to be deſerted by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to preſerve it.

I believe that ſcarce any conſtitution has been overturned by mere accidents or misfortunes. Errors at home may have immediately contributed to national ruin, and foreign invaſion brought it on. But a long courſe of miſmanagements, of ambition and rapine, of evil and looſe adminiſtration, has generally preceded all great revolutions; when the leading men made it their only ſtudy to ſupplant, decry, and oppreſs each other; when the people were on both ſides provoked to ſerve the narrow and corrupt purpoſes of particular

and

and oppoſite leaders, and were animated, not by zeal for their own country, but for hoſtile factions debauching and rending their country. Whenever cabals, and licentiouſneſs, whenever corruption, and contempt of authority, are the meaſures of acquiring, and afterwards of ſupporting power, the conſequence muſt be oppreſſion and injuſtice, which will naturally introduce diſorder and confuſion. A government thus ſapped in the foundations, like a tree looſened at the roots, will infallibly be over-turned by the firſt unruly blaſt, and would in time be overſet even by its own weight.

Societies can never ſubſiſt but through the ſame means by which they were firſt inſtituted. Impartiality, juſtice, zeal for the public, and a ſteady adherence to its intereſt, are the only national ſecurities. When theſe are wanting, large territories, and great fleets and armies, will prove but feeble ſupports; and, in ſpite of all ſuch ſplendid appearances, deſtruction will follow. The ſeveral changes of government in the Grecian commonwealths are proofs of this obſervation. Abuſes of power made corruption neceſſary; corruption produced baſeneſs, luxury, and the extinction of all virtue, and theſe ſeldom ended but in ſome kind of uſurpation and tyranny. Nor were they brought to a ſenſe of their follies until they had thus ſuffered for them; and, before they thought of returning to their old principles of honeſty and public ſpirit, they muſt be firſt awakened by the ſevere laſh of ſome arbitrary power.

It was for this integrity of manners, for this public ſpirit, and inviolable attachment to their conſtitution, that the Lacedæmonians were ſo remarkable, as were alſo the Romans for many ages, and it was through the decay of public ſpirit and national integrity, that Athens was ſo near being deſtroyed in the courſe of the Peloponneſian war. Alcibiades, who had boundleſs ambition, employed his great wealth in debauching the people, that by their aſſiſtance he might raiſe himſelf upon the ruin of his antagoniſt. Hence alſo the peace concluded between the two nations by Nicias, was broken

broken a few years after it was made; a breach which brought on all thoſe loſſes abroad, all thoſe deſtructions at home, which had like to have ended in the utter ſubjection of the republic.

Many examples of this kind are found in the Roman hiſtorians; but remarkable above all is the ſtory and conduct of Cæſar, who, by debauching the people, enſlaved the ſtate. Whoever reads Tully's Epiſtles, which are a curious ſecret hiſtory of thoſe times, muſt be ſtruck with the prodigious diſſolution of manners in that once honeſt and powerful people. Indeed ſo aſtoniſhing was the change, that they were become even paſt reclaiming. All the ſmart of their long and heavy misfortunes was not ſufficient to bring them back to a ſenſe of their duty to their country. Inſomuch that when by the death of their dictator, liberty was once more, as it were, preſented to them, they wanted the courage, or rather they had not the honeſty to accept it.

If we enquire into the accounts of latter days, we ſtill find the ſame cauſes regularly producing the ſame effects. What was it that occaſioned thoſe long and deſperate civil wars which afflicted and almoſt deſtroyed the great and powerful kingdom of France? Was it not private ambition, private intereſt carried on under public pretences? The preſervation of the old religion, and the modeſt requeſt of a toleration to the new, were the outward appearances, and very plauſible they were. But the injuſtifiable ambition of the princes, and the ſelfiſh attachment of their dependants, were the ſecret ſprings that produced and prolonged thoſe pernicious diſturbances, pernicious not only in weakening and impoveriſhing the ſtate for the preſent, but in debauching the principles of all orders of men, and making each ſide look upon the irregular views of their own party as the only objects of attention and zeal, and thus ſacrifice the intereſt, nay, almoſt the very being of the community to the low and narrow purſuits of furious factions. And when after the ſhort calm of Henry the fourth's reign, the public diſorders

diſorders began to revive in the minority of his ſucceſſor, and it was found neceſſary, for the ſupport of the royal power, to curb and break that of the grandees, an opportunity was furniſhed to two ſucceeding miniſters, for their own ſecurity as well as their maſter's, totally to deſtroy all poſſibility of oppoſition. So that putting an end to the old eſtabliſhment, in its room they ſet up a new, which, probably, the French nation will never be able to remove or alter.

It is impoſſible to forget, on this occaſion, the great revolution in a neighbouring kingdom, not much above half a century ago. Whilſt the nobility and commons were wiſely quarrelling about the manner of raiſing the money requiſite for diſbanding the army, two or three parricides ſnatched the opportunity, and ſold the liberties of their country for two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and changed an elective and limited monarchy, into one hereditary and abſolute.

Who can reflect on the folly of ſuch conduct, without ſurprize, when he conſiders it as ſometimes paſſing upon the world for mighty artifice and cunning? To barter away ſubſtances for ſhadows, to part with a birthright for a meſs of pottage, is an abſurdity ſo glaring, that one might as well believe thoſe who do it to be poſſeſſed with real honeſty, as with any ſhare of wiſdom. Contemptible, and poor, and fooliſh are any terms, even the higheſt terms, for betraying one's country. They who do it, do but teach and encourage others to play the ſame game upon themſelves, where they find by their example it may be done with impunity. What is general diſhoneſty, but general inſecurity? To practiſe villainy ourſelves, is to authorize it in others againſt us; and it is as natural to loſe by it as to gain by it. They who, for ſome profit of their own, would defraud mankind of their liberties or fortunes, are like ſharpers who intoxicate company with liquor before they play with them. They may ſucceed in robbing their dupes of their money, but have cauſe to fear their rage; ſince by the unjuſt

loſs

loſs of their money, men are likewiſe apt to loſe all temper.

Without peace of mind there can be no ſuch thing as happineſs; nor can there be any peace of mind where there is a ſenſe of guilt, which is naturally accompanied with apprehenſion of danger. Can ſuch as know that they are not to be truſted themſelves, ever frankly truſt others? They will be apt to think others like themſelves, true only to ſelf-intereſt, and ſo will try to deceive them, as well as deſpiſe them for being deceived. Thus endleſs diſhoneſty, whether in private or public life, will be attended with endleſs anxieties, when ſuch as practiſe it, remember that by all their unrighteous acquiſitions, all their guilty ſucceſs, they can only ſet themſelves up as marks to be ſhot at, and will have the leſs chance of eſcaping by being ſo much expoſed.

Greatneſs, acquired by great abilities and public ſpirit, is a noble acquiſition, and will be enjoyed with ſatisfaction, though it cannot always eſcape obloquy and clamour. But power and pomp purchaſed by the miſery, and groans of the people, as it is always deteſtable, ſo it is always unſafe. Grandeur, in order to be reſpected by the public, muſt be ſupported with merit towards the public. They who love the people, they who conſult their intereſt, and purſue it, are worthy to ſhine among them, nay, worthy to rule them. But greatneſs without dignity, which ariſes as well from public benevolence as from capacity, is like laws without penalties: the weak and ſimple may perhaps ſubmit to them; but they are deſpiſed by thoſe whom they are moſt wanted to reſtrain. To be exalted upon the ruins of liberty and laws, to riſe by force and iniquity, and to aſſert ſuperiority over men by hurting and oppreſſing them, is ſtrange infatuation, a dangerous province. It is like being mounted on an unruly horſe without bit or bridle; a ſituation which no wiſe man would chuſe to be in. When Solon was adviſed to make uſe of his intereſt with his countrymen to ſeize the ſupreme rule,

he

he anſwered wiſely, that "tyranny indeed was a fair ſpot; but there was no way to come out of it."

Such as are known not to love their country, cannot reaſonably expect to be ſafe in it, or that enmity to the public, will not meet with public hate, which is the next ſtep to public revenge: and they who are indifferent to every intereſt but their own, though they may purchaſe flatterers who have minds as bad as theirs, can never be exempt from one miſerable reflection, that moſt men, and all the beſt men abhor them, whilſt only a few of the worſt applaud them; nor can they find much delight from the hollow praiſes of a tribe of fawners, when they remember that injured multitudes are at the ſame time perhaps curſing them.

The deſire of applauſe is implanted in human nature, and without doubt, intended by the Author of nature as an incitement to virtue and benevolent actions; ſince by ſuch means only we can be ſure of obtaining ſo pleaſing a gratification. We may indeed perſonate public ſpirit for a while, yet have none, and for a while paſs for virtuous without having virtue: but the fraud will ſoon be diſcovered. No diſguiſes can long hide the falſe patriot: and his hypocriſy will but add to his condemnation, when it is no longer able to cover his guilt.

There ſeems to be one never-failing teſt whence to diſtinguiſh a public ſpirited man; even an honeſt and diſintereſted heart. This is a ſort of conſtitutional virtue, and whoever has it, is ſecure againſt many of the moſt dangerous temptations. The love of money and of power are violent paſſions, and few who are ſtrongly poſſeſſed with them can ſafely truſt themſelves. How naturally does the avaricious man liſten to any ſcheme for filling his coffers? How eagerly does the ambitious man enter into meaſures for enlarging his figure and power? How apt are both to flatter themſelves that they deſerve all that they can poſſibly poſſeſs, that whatever they can graſp is but their due, and that therefore they can never graſp too much? Blinded by theſe favourite inclinations, they can bear nothing that thwarts

thwarts them; and as they thus ſtate the account on one ſide only, the balance muſt be eternally one way.

The true patriot is content to take the approbation of his own conduct, at leaſt for one part of his reward; neither would he exchange his quiet of mind, or the good wiſhes of his countrymen, for all the benefit which he could poſſibly make by juſtly forfeiting either. He has a general benevolence to the reſt of the world, and cannot taſte that unnatural happineſs of being alone eaſy among the many that are miſerable, eſpecially were they to be miſerable by his means. Though he may not ſet up for any romantic pitch of patriotiſm, though he do not undertake to devote himſelf for his country like Curtius, and may be diffident of the weakneſs of human nature when put upon ſuch awful trials; yet of one virtue he is at all times ſure, never to ſacrifice the public to his paſſions or intereſt, or riſque the tranquillity of the ſtate for any views or emoluments of his own.

Of the Conſtitution of England *.

IN every government there are three ſorts of power: the legiſlative; the executive in reſpect to things dependent on the law of nations; and the executive, in regard to things that depend on the civil law.

By virtue of the firſt, the prince or magiſtrate enacts temporary or perpetual laws, and amends or abrogates thoſe that have been already enacted. By the ſecond, he makes peace or war, ſends or receives embaſſies, eſtabliſhes the public ſecurity, and provides againſt invaſions. By the third, he puniſhes criminals, or determines the diſputes that ariſe between individuals. The latter we ſhall call the judiciary power, and the other ſimply the executive power of the ſtate.

The

* Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws, book xi. chap. vi.

The political liberty of the ſubject is a tranquillity of mind, ariſing from the opinion each perſon has of his ſafety. In order to have this liberty, it is requiſite the government be ſo conſtituted as one man need not be afraid of another.

When the legiſlative and executive powers are united in the ſame perſon, or in the ſame body of magiſtrates, there can be no liberty; becauſe apprehenſions may ariſe, leſt the ſame monarch or ſenate ſhould enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner.

Again, there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not ſeparated from the legiſlative and executive powers. Were it joined with the legiſlative, the life and liberty of the ſubject would be expoſed to arbitrary controul; for the judge would be then the legiſlator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with all the violence of an oppreſſor.

There would be an end of every thing, were the ſame man, or the ſame body, whether of the nobles or of the people, to exerciſe thoſe three powers, that of enacting laws, that of executing the public reſolutions, and that of judging the crimes or differences of individuals.

Moſt kingdoms of Europe enjoy a moderate government, becauſe the prince who is inveſted with the two firſt powers, leaves the third to his ſubjects. In Turkey, where theſe three powers are united in the ſultan's perſon, the ſubjects groan under the weight of a moſt frightful oppreſſion.

In the republics of Italy, where theſe three powers are united, there is leſs liberty than in our monarchies. Hence their government is obliged to have recourſe to as violent methods for its ſupport, as even that of the Turks; witneſs the ſtate inquiſitors*, and the lion's mouth into which every informer may at all hours throw his written accuſations.

What a ſituation muſt the poor ſubject be in, under

* At Venice.

thoſe republics! The ſame body of magiſtrates are poſſeſſed, as executors of the laws, of the whole power they have given themſelves in quality of legiſlators. They may plunder the ſtate by their general determinations; and as they have likewiſe the judiciary power in their hands, every private citizen may be ruined by their particular deciſions.

The whole power is here united in one body; and tho' there is no external pomp that indicates a deſpotic ſway, yet the people feel the effects of it every moment.

Hence it is that many of the princes of Europe, whoſe aim has been levelled at arbitrary power, have conſtantly ſet out with uniting in their own perſons, all the branches of magiſtracy, and all the great offices of ſtate.

I allow indeed that the mere hereditary ariſtocracy of the Italian republics, does not anſwer exactly to the deſpotic power of the Eaſtern princes. The number of magiſtrates ſometimes ſoftens the power of the magiſtracy; the whole body of the nobles do not always concur in the ſame deſigns; and different tribunals are erected, that temper each other. Thus at Venice the legiſlative power is in the council, the executive in the pregadi, and the judiciary in the quarantia. But the miſchief is that theſe different tribunals are compoſed of magiſtrates all belonging to the ſame body; which conſtitutes almoſt one and the ſame power.

The judiciary power ought not to be given to a ſtanding ſenate; it ſhould be exerciſed by perſons taken from the body of the people*, at certain times of the year, and purſuant to a form and manner preſcribed by law, in order to erect a tribunal that ſhould laſt only as long as neceſſity requires.

By this means the power of judging, a power ſo terrible to mankind, not being annexed to any particular ſtate or profeſſion, becomes, as it were, inviſible. People have not then the judges continually preſent to their view they fear the office, but not the magiſtrate.

In

* As at Athens.

In accuſations of a deep or criminal nature, it is proper the perſon accuſed ſhould have the privilege of chuſing in ſome meaſure his judges in concurrence with the law; or at leaſt he ſhould have a right to except againſt ſo great a number, that the remaining part may be deemed his own choice.

The other two powers may be given rather to magiſtrates or permanent bodies, becauſe they are not exerciſed on any private ſubject; one being no more than the general will of the ſtate, and the other the execution of that general will.

But though the tribunals ought not to be fixed, yet the judgments ought, and to ſuch a degree as to be always conformable to the exact letter of the law. Were they to be the private opinion of the judge, people would then live in ſociety without knowing exactly the obligations it lays them under.

The judges ought likewiſe to be in the ſame ſtation as the accuſed, or in other words, his peers, to the end that he may not imagine he is fallen into the hands of perſons inclined to treat him with rigour.

If the legiſlature leaves the executive power in poſſeſſion of a right to impriſon thoſe ſubjects who can give ſecurity for their good behaviour, there is an end of liberty; unleſs they are taken up, in order to anſwer without delay to a capital crime; in this caſe they are really free, being ſubject only to the power of the law.

But ſhould the legiſlature think itſelf in danger by ſome ſecret conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, or by a correſpondence with a foreign enemy, it might authorize the executive power, for a ſhort and limited time, to impriſon ſuſpected perſons, who in that caſe would loſe their liberty only for a while, to preſerve it for ever.

And this is the only reaſonable method, that can be ſubſtituted to the tyrannical magiſtracy of the Ephori, and to the ſtate inquiſitors of Venice, who are alſo deſpotical.

As in a free ſtate, every man who is ſuppoſed a free agent, ought to be his own governor; ſo the legiſla-

tive power ſhould reſide in the whole body of the people. But ſince this is impoſſible in large ſtates, and in ſmall ones is ſubject to many inconveniences; it is fit the people ſhould act by their repreſentatives, what they cannot act by themſelves.

The inhabitants of a particular town are much better acquainted with its wants and intereſts, than with thoſe of other places; and are better judges of the capacity of their neighbours, than of that of the reſt of their countrymen. The members therefore of the legiſlature ſhould not be choſen from the general body of the nation; but it is proper that in every conſiderable place, a repreſentative ſhould be elected by the inhabitants.

The great advantage of repreſentatives is their being capable of diſcuſſing affairs. For this the people collectively are extremely unfit, which is one of the greateſt inconveniences of a democracy.

It is not at all neceſſary that the repreſentatives who have received a general inſtruction from their electors, ſhould wait to be particularly inſtructed in every affair, as is practiſed in the diets of Germany. True it is, that by this way of proceeding, the ſpeeches of the deputies might with greater propriety be called the voice of the nation: but on the other hand, this would throw them into infinite delays, would give each deputy a power of controlling the aſſembly; and on the moſt urgent and preſſing occaſions the ſprings of the nation might be ſtopped by a ſingle caprice.

When the deputies, as Mr. Sidney well obſerves, repreſent a body of people as in Holland, they ought to be accountable to their conſtituents: but it is a different thing in England, where they are deputed by boroughs.

All the inhabitants of the ſeveral diſtricts ought to have a right of voting at the election of a repreſentative, except ſuch as are in ſo mean a ſituation, as to be deemed to have no will of their own.

One great fault there was in moſt of the ancient republics; that the people had a right to active reſolutions, ſuch as require ſome execution, a thing of

which they are abſolutely incapable. They ought to have no hand in the government but for the chuſing of repreſentatives, which is within their reach. For though few can tell the exact degree of mens capacities, yet there are none but are capable of knowing in general whether the perſon they chuſe is better qualified than moſt of his neighbours.

Neither ought the repreſentative body to be choſen for active reſolutions, for which it is not ſo fit; but for the enacting of laws, or to ſee whether the laws already enacted be duly executed, a thing they are very capable of, and which none indeed but themſelves can properly perform.

In a ſtate there are always perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, riches, or honors: but were they to be confounded with the common people, and to have only the weight of a ſingle vote like the reſt, the common liberty would be their ſlavery, and they would have no intereſt in ſupporting it, as moſt of the popular reſolutions would be againſt them. The ſhare they have therefore in the legiſlature ought to be proportioned to the other advantages they have in the ſtate; which happens only when they form a body that has a right to put a ſtop to the enterprizes of the people, as the people have a right to put a ſtop to theirs.

The legiſlative power is therefore committed to the body of the nobles, and to the body choſen to repreſent the people, which have each their aſſemblies and deliberations apart, each their ſeparate views and intereſts.

Of the three powers above-mentioned, the judiciary is in ſome meaſure next to nothing. There remains therefore only two; and as theſe have need of a regulating power to temper them, the part of the legiſlative body compoſed of the nobility, is extremely proper for this very purpoſe.

The body of the nobility ought to be hereditary. In the firſt place it is ſo in its own nature; and in the next there muſt be a conſiderable intereſt to preſerve its privileges; privileges that in themſelves are ob-

noxious to popular envy, and of courſe in a free ſtate are always in danger.

But as an hereditary power might be tempted to purſue its own particular intereſts, and forget thoſe of the people; it is proper that where they may reap a ſingular advantage from being corrupted, as in the laws relating to the ſupplies, they ſhould have no other ſhare in the legiſlation, than the power of rejecting, and not that of reſolving.

By the power of reſolving, I mean the right of ordaining by their own authority, or of amending what has been ordained by others. By the power of rejecting, I would be underſtood to mean the right of annulling a reſolution taken by another, which was the power of the tribunes at Rome. And though the perſon poſſeſſed of the privilege of rejecting may likewiſe have the right of approving, yet this approbation paſſes for no more than a declaration, that he intends to make no uſe of his privilege of rejecting, and is derived from that very privilege.

The executive power ought to be in the hands of a monarch: becauſe this branch of government, which has always need of expedition, is better adminiſtered by one than by many: whereas, whatever depends on the legiſlative power, is oftentimes better regulated by many than by a ſingle perſon.

But if there was no monarch, and the executive power was committed to a certain number of perſons ſelected from the legiſlative body, there would be an end then of liberty; by reaſon the two powers would be united, as the ſame perſons would actually ſometimes have, and would moreover be always able to have, a ſhare in both.

Were the legiſlative body to be a conſiderable time without meeting, this would likewiſe put an end to liberty. For one of theſe two things would naturally follow; either that there would be no longer any legiſlative reſolutions, and then the ſtate would fall into anarchy; or that theſe reſolutions would be taken by the executive power, which would render it abſolute.

It would be needleſs for the legiſlative body to continue always aſſembled. This would be troubleſome to the repreſentatives, and moreover would cut out too much work for the executive power, ſo as to take off its attention from executing, and oblige it to think only of defending its own prerogatives and the right it has to execute.

Again, were the legiſlative body to be always aſſembled, it might happen to be kept up only by filling the places of the deceaſed members with new repreſentatives; and in that caſe, if the legiſlative body was once corrupted, the evil would be paſt all remedy. When different legiſlative bodies ſucceed one another, the people who have a bad opinion of that which is actually ſitting, may reaſonably entertain ſome hopes of the next: but were it to be always the ſame body, the people upon ſeeing it once corrupted, would no longer expect any good from its laws; and of courſe they would either become deſperate or fall into a ſtate of indolence.

The legiſlative body ſhould not aſſemble of itſelf. For a body is ſuppoſed to have no will but when it is aſſembled; and beſides, were it not to aſſemble unanimouſly, it would be impoſſible to determine which was really the legiſlative body, the part aſſembled, or the other. And if it had a right to prorogue itſelf, it might happen never to be prorogued; which would be extremely dangerous in caſe it ſhould ever attempt to incroach on the executive power. Beſides there are ſeaſons, ſome of which are more proper than others, for aſſembling the legiſlative body: it is fit therefore that the executive power ſhould regulate the time of convening as well as the duration of thoſe aſſemblies, according to the circumſtances and exigencies of ſtate known to itſelf.

Were the executive power not to have a right of putting a ſtop to the encroachments of the legiſlative body, the latter would become deſpotic; for as it might arrogate to itſelf what authority it pleaſed, it would ſoon deſtroy all the other powers.

But it is not proper on the other hand that the le-

giſlative power ſhould have a right to ſtop the executive. For as the execution has its natural limits, it is uſeleſs to confine it; beſides, the executive power is generally employed in momentary operations. The power therefore of the Roman tribunes was faulty, as it put a ſtop not only to the legiſlation, but likewiſe to the execution itſelf; which was attended with infinite miſchiefs.

But if the legiſlative power in a free government ought to have no right to ſtop the executive, it has a right and ought to have the means of examining in what manner its laws have been executed; an advantage which this government has over that of Crete and Sparta, where the Coſmi and the Ephori gave no account of their adminiſtration.

But whatever may be the iſſue of that examination, the legiſlative body ought not to have a power of judging the perſon, nor of courſe the conduct of him who is intruſted with the executive power. His perſon ſhould be ſacred, becauſe as it is neceſſary for the good of the ſtate to prevent the legiſlative body from rendering themſelves arbitrary, the moment he is accuſed or tried, there is an end of liberty.

In this caſe the ſtate would be no longer a monarchy, but a kind of republican, though not a free, government. But as the perſon intruſted with the executive power cannot abuſe it without bad counſellors, and ſuch as hate the laws as miniſters, though the laws favour them as ſubjects; theſe men may be examined and puniſhed. An advantage which this government has over that of Gnidus, where the law allowed of no ſuch thing as calling the Amymones * to an account, even after their adminiſtration †; and therefore the people could never obtain any ſatisfaction for the injuries done them.

Though

---

* Theſe were magiſtrates choſen annually by the people. See Stephen of Byzantium.

† It was lawful to accuſe the Roman magiſtrates after the expiration of their ſeveral offices. See Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 9. the affair of Genutius the tribune.

Though in general the judiciary power ought not to be united with any part of the legiſlative, yet this is liable to three exceptions founded on the particular intereſt of the party accuſed.

The great are always obnoxious to popular envy; and were they to be judged by the people, they might be in danger from their judges, and would moreover be deprived of the privilege which the meaneſt ſubject is poſſeſſed of in a free ſtate, of being tried by their peers. The nobility for this reaſon ought not to be cited before the ordinary courts of judicature, but before that part of the legiſlature which is compoſed of their own body.

It is poſſible that the law, which is clear-ſighted in one ſenſe, and blind in another, might in ſome caſes be too ſevere. But as we have already obſerved, the national judges are no more than the mouth that pronounces the words of the law, mere paſſive beings incapable of moderating either its force or rigor. That part therefore of the legiſlative body, which we have juſt now obſerved to be a neceſſary tribunal on another occaſion, is alſo a neceſſary tribunal in this; it belongs to its ſupreme authority to moderate the law in favour of the law itſelf, by mitigating the ſentence.

It might alſo happen that a ſubject intruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, might infringe the rights of the people, and be guilty of crimes which the ordinary magiſtrates either could not, or would not puniſh. But in general the legiſlative power cannot judge; and much leſs can it be a judge in this particular caſe, where it repreſents the party concerned, which is the people. It can only therefore impeach. But before what court ſhall it bring its impeachment? Muſt it go and abaſe itſelf before the ordinary tribunals, which are its inferiors, and being compoſed moreover of men who are choſen from the people as well as itſelf, will naturally be ſwayed by the authority of ſo powerful an accuſer? No: in order to preſerve the dignity of the people, and the ſecurity of the ſubject, the legiſlative part which repreſents the people, muſt bring in its charge before the legiſlative part which repreſents the

the nobility, who have neither the ſame intereſts nor the ſame paſſions.

Here is an advantage which this government has over moſt of the antient republics, where there was this abuſe, that the people were at the ſame time both judge and accuſer.

The executive power, purſuant to what has been already ſaid, ought to have a ſhare in the legiſlature by the power of rejecting, otherwiſe it would ſoon be ſtripped of its prerogative. But ſhould the legiſlative power uſurp a ſhare of the executive, the latter would be equally undone.

If the prince were to have a ſhare in the legiſlature by the power of reſolving, liberty would be loſt. But as it is neceſſary he ſhould have a ſhare in the legiſlature for the ſupport of his own prerogative, this ſhare muſt conſiſt in the power of rejecting.

The change of government at Rome was owing to this, that neither the ſenate who had one part of the executive power, nor the magiſtrates who were entruſted with the other, had the right of rejecting, which was entirely lodged in the people.

Here then is the fundamental conſtitution of the government we are treating of. The legiſlative body being compoſed of two parts, one checks the other, by the mutual privilege of rejecting. They are both checked by the executive power, as the executive is by the legiſlative.

Theſe three powers ſhould naturally form a ſtate of repoſe or inaction. But as there is a neceſſity for movement in the courſe of human affairs, they are forced to move, but ſtill to move in concert.

As the executive power has no other part in the legiſlative than the privilege of rejecting, it can have no ſhare in the public debates. It is not even neceſſary that it ſhould propoſe, becauſe as it may always diſapprove of the reſolutions that ſhall be taken, it may likewiſe reject the deciſions on thoſe propoſals which were made againſt its will.

In ſome antient commonwealths, where public debates were carried on by the people in a body, it was natural

natural for the executive power to propoſe and debate with the people, otherwiſe their reſolutions muſt have been attended with a ſtrange confuſion.

Were the executive power to ordain the raiſing of public money, otherwiſe than by giving its conſent, liberty would be at an end; becauſe it would become legiſlative in the moſt important point of legiſlation.

If the legiſlative power was to ſettle the ſubſidies, not from year to year, but for ever, it would run the riſk of loſing its liberty, becauſe the executive power would no longer be dependent; and when once it was poſſeſſed of ſuch a perpetual right, it would be a matter of indifference, whether it held it of itſelf, or of another. The ſame may be ſaid if it ſhould fix, not from year to year, but for ever, the ſea and land forces with which it is to intruſt the executive power.

To prevent the executive power from being able to oppreſs, it is requiſite that the armies, with which it is intruſted, ſhould conſiſt of the people, and have the ſame ſpirit as the people, as was the caſe at Rome till the time of Marius. To obtain this end, there are only two ways; either that the perſons employed in the army, ſhould have ſufficient property to anſwer for their conduct to their fellow ſubjects, and be enliſted only for a year, as was cuſtomary at Rome: or if there ſhould be a ſtanding army, compoſed chiefly of the moſt deſpicable part of the nation, the legiſlative power ſhould have a right to diſband them as ſoon as it pleaſed; the ſoldiers ſhould live in common with the reſt of the people; and no ſeparate camp, barracks, or fortreſs, ſhould be ſuffered.

When once an army is eſtabliſhed, it ought not to depend immediately on the legiſlative, but on the executive power; and this from the very nature of the thing; its buſineſs conſiſting more in action than in deliberation.

From a manner of thinking that prevails amongſt mankind, they ſet a higher value upon courage than timorouſneſs, on activity than prudence, on ſtrength than counſel. Hence the army will ever deſpiſe a ſenate, and reſpect their own officers. They will naturally

turally ſlight the orders ſent them by a body of men, whom they look upon as cowards, and therefore unworthy to command them. So that as ſoon as the army depends on the legiſlative body, the government becomes a military one; and if the contrary has ever happened, it has been owing to ſome extraordinary circumſtances. It is becauſe the army has always kept divided; it is becauſe it was compoſed of ſeveral bodies, that depended each on their particular province; it is becauſe the capital towns were ſtrong places, defended by their natural ſituation, and not garriſoned with regular troops. Holland, for inſtance, is ſtill ſafer than Venice; ſhe might drown or ſtarve the revolted troops; for as they are not quartered in towns capable of furniſhing them with neceſſary ſubſiſtence, this ſubſiſtence is of courſe precarious.

Whoever ſhall read the admirable treatiſe of Tacitus on the manners of the Germans, will find that it is from them the Engliſh have borrowed the idea of their political government. This beautiful ſyſtem was invented firſt in the woods.

As all human things have an end, the ſtate we are ſpeaking of will loſe its liberty, it will periſh. Have not Rome, Sparta, and Carthage periſhed? It will periſh when the legiſlative power ſhall be more corrupted than the executive.

It is not my buſineſs to examine whether the Engliſh actually enjoy this liberty, or not. It is ſufficient for my purpoſe to obſerve, that it is eſtabliſhed by their laws; and I inquire no further.

Neither do I pretend by this to undervalue other governments, nor to ſay that this extreme political liberty ought to give uneaſineſs to thoſe who have only a moderate ſhare of it. How ſhould I have any ſuch deſign, I who think that even the exceſs of reaſon is not always deſirable, and that mankind generally find their account better in mediums than in extremes?

Harrington in his Oceana has alſo inquired into the higheſt point of liberty to which the conſtitution of a ſtate may be carried. But of him indeed it may be ſaid, that for want of knowing the nature of real liberty,

berty, he buſied himſelf in purſuit of an imaginary one, and that he built a Chalcedon though he had a Byzantium before his eyes.

The Influence of the Progreſs of Science on the Manners and Characters of Men *.

THE progreſs of ſcience and the cultivation of literature, had conſiderable effect in changing the manners of the European nations, and introducing that civility and refinement by which they are now diſtinguiſhed. At the time when their empire was overturned, the Romans, though they had loſt that correct taſte which has rendered the productions of their anceſtors the ſtandards of excellence, and models for imitation to ſucceeding ages, ſtill preſerved their love of letters, and cultivated the arts with great ardour. But rude barbarians were ſo far from being ſtruck with any admiration of theſe unknown accompliſhments, that they deſpiſed them. They were not arrived at that ſtate of ſociety, in which thoſe faculties of the human mind that have beauty and elegance for their objects, begin to unfold themſelves. They were ſtrangers to all thoſe wants and deſires which are the parents of ingenious invention; and as they did not comprehend either the merit or utility of the Roman arts, they deſtroyed the monuments of them, with induſtry not inferior to that with which their poſterity have ſince ſtudied to preſerve, or to recover them. The convulſions occaſioned by their ſettlement in the empire; the frequent as well as violent revolutions in every kingdom which they eſtabliſhed; together with the interior defects in the form of government which they introduced, baniſhed ſecurity and leiſure; prevented the growth of taſte or the culture of ſcience; and kept Europe, during ſeveral centuries, in a ſtate of ignorance. But as ſoon as liberty and independence began to be felt by every part of the community, and communicated ſome taſte of the advantages ariſing from commerce,

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. i. p. 72—76. 4to.

commerce, from public order, and from perſonal ſecurity, the human mind became conſcious of powers which it did not formerly perceive, and fond of occupations or purſuits of which it was formerly incapable. Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, we diſcern the firſt ſymptoms of its awakening from that lethargy in which it had long been ſunk, and obſerve it turning with curioſity and attention towards new objects.

The firſt literary efforts, however, of the European nations in the middle ages, were extremely ill-directed. Among nations, as well as individuals, the powers of imagination attain ſome degree of vigour before the intellectual faculties are much exerciſed in ſpeculative or abſtract diſquiſition. Men are poets before they are philoſophers. They feel with ſenſibility, and deſcribe with force, when they have made but little progreſs in inveſtigation or reaſoning. The age of Homer and of Heſiod long preceded that of Thales, or of Socrates. But unhappily for literature, our anceſtors deviating from this courſe which nature points out, plunged at once into the depths of abſtruſe and metaphyſical inquiry. They had been converted to the Chriſtian faith, ſoon after they ſettled in their new conqueſts. But they did not receive it pure. The preſumption of men had added to the ſimple and inſtructive doctrines of Chriſtianity, the theories of a vain philoſophy, that attempted to penetrate into myſteries, and to decide queſtions which the limited faculties of the human mind are unable to comprehend, or to reſolve. Theſe over curious ſpeculations were incorporated with the ſyſtem of religion, and came to be conſidered as the moſt eſſential part of it. As ſoon, then, as curioſity prompted men to enquire and to reaſon, theſe were the ſubjects which firſt preſented themſelves and engaged their attention. The ſcholaſtic theology, with its infinite train of bold diſquiſitions, and ſubtile diſtinctions concerning points which are not the object of human reaſon, was the firſt production of the ſpirit of enquiry after it began to reſume ſome degree of activity and vigour in Europe.

It was not this circumſtance alone that gave ſuch a wrong turn to the minds of men, when they began

again to exerciſe talents which they had ſo long neglected. Moſt of the perſons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had received inſtruction, or derived their principles of ſcience from the Greeks in the eaſtern empire, or from the Arabians in Spain and Africa. Both theſe people, acute and inquiſitive to exceſs, corrupted thoſe ſciences which they cultivated. The former rendered theology a ſyſtem of ſpeculative refinement, or of endleſs controverſy. The latter communicated to philoſophy a ſpirit of methaphyſical and frivolous ſubtlety. Miſled by theſe guides, the perſons who firſt applied to ſcience were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Inſtead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and to produce ſuch works of invention as might have improved their taſte, and refined their ſentiments; inſtead of cultivating thoſe arts which embelliſh human life, and render it comfortable; they were fettered by authority; they were led aſtray by example, and waſted the whole force of their genius in ſpeculations as unavailing, as they were difficult.

But fruitleſs and ill-directed as theſe ſpeculations were, their novelty rouzed, and their boldneſs intereſted the human mind. The ardour with which men purſued theſe uninviting ſtudies, was aſtoniſhing. Genuine philoſophy was never cultivated, in any enlightened age, with greater zeal. Schools upon the model of thoſe inſtituted by Charlemagne, were opened in every cathedral, and almoſt in every monaſtery of note. Colleges and univerſities were erected, and formed into communities or corporations, governed by their own laws, and inveſted with ſeparate and extenſive juriſdiction over their own members. A regular courſe of ſtudies was planned. Privileges of great value were conferred on maſters and ſcholars. Academical titles and honours of various kinds were invented as a recompence for both. Nor was it in the ſchools alone that ſuperiority in ſcience led to reputation and authority; it became the object of reſpect in life, and advanced ſuch as acquired it to a rank of no inconſiderable eminence. Allured by all theſe advan-

tages, an incredible number of ſtudents reſorted to theſe new ſeats of learning, and crowded with eagerneſs into that new path which was open to fame and diſtinction.

But how conſiderable ſo ever theſe firſt efforts may appear, there was one circumſtance which prevented the effects of them from being as extenſive as they ought to have been. All the languages in Europe, during the period under review *, were barbarous. They were deſtitute of elegance, of force, and even of perſpicuity. No attempt had been hitherto made to improve or to poliſh them. The Latin tongue was conſecrated by the church to religion. Cuſtom, with authority ſcarce leſs ſacred, had appropriated it to literature. All the ſciences cultivated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were taught in Latin. All books with reſpect to them, were written in that language. To have treated of any important ſubject in a modern language, would have been deemed a degradation of it. This confined ſcience within a very narrow circle. The learned alone were admitted into the temple of knowledge; the gate was ſhut againſt all others, who were allowed to remain involved in their former darkneſs and ignorance.

But though ſcience was thus prevented during ſeveral ages, from diffuſing itſelf through ſociety, and its influence was circumſcribed, the progreſs of it may be mentioned, nevertheleſs, among the great cauſes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into Europe. That ardent, though ill-judged ſpirit of enquiry which I have deſcribed, occaſioned a fermentation of mind, which put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour. It led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as intereſting. It accuſtomed them to exerciſes and occupations which tended to ſoften their manners, and to give them ſome reliſh for thoſe gentle virtues, which are peculiar to nations among whom ſcience hath been cultivated with ſucceſs.

* From the ſubverſion of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

FINIS.